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AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE, 1851.

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DIVISION XII.



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consideration they demanded. Should this measure become law, and be enforced, we were told that we should soon see a crowd of English exiled Roman Catholic prelates upon the shores of Belgium, Holland, and France. And would it suit the views of Englishmen to have complaints of their persecuting spirit thus dinned into foreign ears, and odious comparisons drawn between their illiberality and the toleration of the Continent? A long list of examples was rehearsed, to show that important ecclesiastical as well as lay functionaries, in official documents, had used the territorial titles of the Roman Catholic bishops in reference to the incumbents of those sees. The pride of Protestantism was also appealed to, with the assurance that no threat was held out by the Church of Rome against our civil and religious liberty, and that even at the worst the Church of England had nothing to fear.

For the bill it was alleged, that the Roman Catholics had no right to establish their hierarchy in England, merely because the state had granted them the free and unfettered exercise of their religion. But the means adopted for this purpose were a breach of our municipal and constitutional law; and were a violation of the public law of Europe, of the sovereignty of our state, and of our national independence. It was monstrous and intolerable, therefore, to declare, that the government and parliament of this country must submit to such measures, because some people thought that the Roman Catholic church would be better governed by archbishops and bishops than by vicars apostolical. This establishment of an hierarchy, also, had something more than a spiritual scope and effect. If any town or place were appointed to be an episcopal see, it became *ipso facto* a city; and was not this on the part of the pope an act of territorial sovereignty? If the Roman Catholics had wanted important changes, they should have come to parliament for them, and pursued their objects by legal and constitutional means, and not by what the nation regarded as an insult. In the mean time, it was not worth while for a great country like this to enter into hostilities with the Roman pontiff. The present bill would be enough for the emergency. By its preventive power, the Roman Catholics could not have episcopal jurisdiction; they could not introduce canon law; they could not assemble in synod to frustrate, perchance, the decrees of the imperial parliament, unless there were bishops with those territorial titles, which the bill would prohibit them from assuming.

In answer to those who were dissatisfied with the limitations of the bill, as well as those who thought it too stringent, especially for Ireland,

VOL. IV.

the attorney-general explained its legal bearings, and showed how far it was intended to operate, and would most probably operate. It would not affect liberty of conscience, or interfere with spiritual action on any Roman Catholic in the country. The canon law, as attempted to be established in our country by the Papal rescript, was not the law of England; but the English law would take cognizance of that part of it which concerns the matter in hand, as a fact to be proved by witnesses of competent character; and when the fact was once proved, the law would not inquire whether it was right or reasonable, but would adopt the fact, and act on it. There were rich ecclesiastical benefices in this country belonging to the Roman Catholics, to which their bishops had always claimed the right of appointment—a claim, however, which had always hitherto been successfully resisted by the laity. The prelates of the Roman Catholic church being simply bishops, and not having any territorial dioceses, could not enforce that claim; but by the canon law they would have the right, if their dioceses were made territorial, to appoint under certain circumstances and conditions the priests to these benefices. Such would be the consequences of the Papal brief, which this bill was calculated to prevent. These bishops, though thus debarred from the authority granted to them by the canon law, would still be able to exercise all their purely spiritual functions as before. The measure, as a whole, might check the first step towards giving the Romish church in England a predominance over that in Ireland; but it would not injure religious liberty, and ought not to injure the friendly relations with Ireland which all Englishmen desired to maintain.

In its progress through committee, the ecclesiastical titles bill was at every step the subject of a fresh controversy: at every point a stand was made against the measure; while the amendments proposed and negatived surpassed all former precedent. On the part of the apologists and adherents of Popery, it was a campaign in which they hoped to wear out the stronger party by obstacles and delays. This contest did not terminate till the 27th of June, when the result was brought before the house; and on that occasion an unexpected event occurred, which nonplussed the government and occasioned an important modification of the bill. On its preamble being voted as it originally stood, and the fact of this decision being announced, about seventy members, chiefly Roman Catholic representatives of Irish counties and boroughs, rose in a body, and marched out of the house, amidst peals of laughter. It was no laughing matter, however, to Lord John Russell and his administration, whom this secession threatened with heavy loss,

if not positive overthrow, although he referred to it with the coolness of a practised strategist. He called it a "significant and ostentatious retirement," and supposed it meant that these members would take no part in the proceedings. But they would be taking part, by the very act of retirement: they would be consenting parties to the decision of the house; and they would be responsible for the insertion of these amendments by their aid.

These amendments to which his lordship alluded, had been proposed by Sir Frederick Thesiger, and it was in consequence of these that the Roman Catholic members had made their famous exodus. The object of these proposals was an amendment of the first declaratory clause, so that it should apply to all Papal rescripts, and not merely to that which established the hierarchy—to give the prosecuting power to any individual, with the sanction of the crown officers—and to make penal the introduction of bulls. All three were carried. At the third reading of the bill, which occurred on the 4th of July, Lord John Russell endeavoured to persuade the house to reverse these decisions, but was unsuccessful. And still, the Irish Roman Catholic members kept aloof, and took no part in the proceedings. For this third reading, many a speech had been prepared on either side, and a long debate was expected; but on the speaker putting the question, "That this bill do now pass," not a member rose: on putting it again, there was the same dead silence; and on the division being taken, there were 263 for the motion, and only 46 against it. There had been no fight, because there was no opposition; and the assailing party appear to have been stunned by the mere *vis inertiae* so unexpectedly assumed by their adversaries.

In this way, a life-and-death contest that had continued nearly five long months, and wound up public expectation to the uttermost, was suddenly terminated. It had ended in a victory which was feared to be no victory at all, as not a blow had been struck, or token of resistance offered. After having passed the commons, the bill was brought into the lords; but there, a brief discussion sufficed, as the subject had already been so thoroughly sifted. The second reading was passed by a majority of 265 against 38; and on the 29th of July, the third reading in the lords was ended, and the bill committed to the royal approval. Thus sanctioned, on the 1st of August, 1851, under the designation of "An act to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom," this act of 14 and 15 Vict. c. 49, after stating

the offence which had occasioned its enactment, thus decrees:—

"I. All such briefs, rescripts, or letters apostolical, and all and every the jurisdiction, authority, pre-eminence, or title conferred, or pretended to be conferred thereby, are and shall be, and be deemed unlawful and void.

"II. And be it enacted, that if, after the passing of this act, any person shall obtain, or cause to be procured from the bishop or see of Rome, or shall publish or put in use within any part of the United Kingdom, any such bull, brief, rescript, or letters apostolical, or any other instrument or writing, for the purpose of constituting such archbishops or bishops of such pretended provinces, sees, or dioceses within the United Kingdom; or if any person, other than a person thereunto authorized by law in respect of an archbishopric, bishopric, or deanery of the united Church of England and Ireland, assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean of any city, town, or place, or of any territory or district (under any designation or description whatsoever), in the United Kingdom, whether such city, town, or place, or such territory or district, be or be not the see or the province, or co-extensive with the province, of any archbishop, or the see or the diocese, or co-extensive with the diocese of any bishop, or the seat or place of the church of any dean, or co-extensive with any deanery of the said united church; the person so offending shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of £100, to be recovered as penalties imposed by the recited act, may be recovered under the provisions thereof, or by action of debt at the suit of any person in one of her majesty's superior courts of law, with the consent of her majesty's attorney-general in England and Ireland, or her majesty's advocate in Scotland, as the case may be.

"III. This act shall not extend or apply to the assumption or use by any bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland, exercising episcopal functions within some district or place in Scotland of any name, style, or title in respect of such district or place; but nothing herein contained shall be taken to give any right to any such bishop to assume or use any name, style, or title which he is not now by law entitled to assume or use.

"IV. Be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to annul, repeal, or in any manner affect any provision contained in an act passed in the eighth year of the reign of her present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the more effectual application of charitable donations and bequests in Ireland.'

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1851—1853.

VICTORIA.

Necessity of re-constructing the budget—The window-tax modified—Proposal to limit the continuation of the income-tax—Mr. Hume's proposal to continue it only one year—Financial difficulties—Mr. D'Israeli's motion for developing the protectionist instead of the government system of finance—Particulars of the proposal and its author's explanations—Answer of the chancellor of exchequer—The motion negatived—Proposals for other reductions in taxation—Re-assembling of parliament in 1852—Causes of Lord Palmerston's removal from office—The premier explains his pacific plan of policy—Necessity for the means of national defence—Parliamentary reform recommended in the royal speech—Lord John Russell's bill on the subject—The militia bill—Its essential points—It is introduced by the premier—Lord Palmerston's proposed amendment—He demands a regular instead of a local militia—Lord John Russell out-voted—The ministers resign—The Derby administration succeeds—The Earl of Derby announces his principles of government—His cautious enunciations—A petition on free trade to ascertain his views on the subject—Another for a similar purpose about the dissolution of parliament—The Earl of Derby refuses to commit himself—The militia bill re-introduced—Its essential points—Inadequate military force in Britain in the event of an invasion—Statement of the government plan of militia defence—Objections brought against it—The militia bill passed through the commons—It is brought into the lords—The Duke of Wellington's speech on the subject of our national defence—He recommends the bill—It is passed—Motions for parliamentary reform—Motion upon bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections—Our Australasian colonies—A representative government formed for New Zealand—Its details—Work effected during this session by the Derby administration—Parliament dissolved and a new one assembled—Death of the Duke of Wellington—Notice of the event in the royal speech—Motion for the further extension of free-trade immunities—Middle course proposed by Lord Palmerston—His proposal ratified—Prince Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor of France—His *coup d'état* of December, 1851—Secrecy with which it was conducted—Its rapid and complete success—He is appointed permanent and irresponsible president—He is afterwards elected emperor by the national suffrage—Apprehensions of Britain at these changes—Pacific professions of the new emperor—Precautions adopted against the chance of a French invasion—The Derby ministry overthrown upon the finance question—They resign.



THE disapprobation with which the financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer had been received, and the subsequent resignation and recal of the Whig ministry, demanded a reconstruction of the budget, and accordingly it was submitted to the house on the 5th of April, with several important and popular amendments. The chief of these was the window-tax, an impost which not only weighed heavily upon the poorer classes, by confining them to ill-ventilated and darkened habitations, but even induced many of the better classes, especially in the country, to build up every window in their mansions except such as were found absolutely necessary. The chancellor, in his first financial statement of this session, had proposed a compromise, by which a tax upon houses should be substituted in its room, according to the principle of the value of the house; but this proposal, which merely shifted the demand to a different pocket of the tax-payer, without bringing the means of improvement in health and morals to the homes of the poor, was received with marked disapprobation. Sir Charles Wood now proposed a milder alternative. As the window duty was £1,856,000, while the surplus was

only £1,892,000, he proposed a uniform rate of ninepence in the pound upon dwelling-houses, and sixpence upon shops, irrespective of the number of windows or openings they might contain; while houses not exceeding £20 in annual value were to be exempted altogether. In this way the tax would be reduced from £1,856,000 to £720,000. The final result would be, that of the 3,500,000 houses in the kingdom, 3,100,000 would be exempt, and the tax levied only on 400,000 of the most valuable houses.

The income-tax came next into consideration. This Sir Charles acknowledged had at first been imposed to meet a deficiency; but it had been afterwards continued to furnish means for the removal of impolitic restrictions on industry and commerce. On the resolution to continue it being announced, a debate arose in consequence of the following motion of Mr. Herries:—"That the income and property tax, and the stamp duties in Ireland, were granted for limited periods, and to meet temporary exigencies; and that it is expedient to adhere to the declared intentions of parliament; and in order to secure their speedy cessation, to limit the renewal of any portion of those taxes to such an amount as may suffice to provide for the expenditure sanctioned by parlia-

ment, and for the maintenance of public credit." The usual objections that the tax, by its three-year continuations, threatened to become a financial fixture—that it was so dependent upon the true returns of annual income that rogues eluded it and honest men bore the burden—and that its inquisitorial character was still more odious than the pecuniary infliction, continued to be urged against it. On a division, the resolution of Mr. Herries was negatived by 278 against 230; and the second reading of the income-tax bill was moved for the 28th of April. On that occasion, a motion was made that the consideration of the bill should be postponed till that day six months; but Sir Charles Wood reminded the house, that if it should be thrown out there would be a deficiency of £1,000,000 this year, and £3,500,000 the next.

On the bill going into committee on the 2d of May, Mr. Hume moved an important amendment, to the effect that the grant should be limited to one year, with the object of having the whole question deliberately considered in a select committee. His principle was that direct is preferable to indirect taxation; and in support of this, he brought forward a dogged array of facts and arithmetical figures which no tropes and metaphors could overturn. By the present mode of taxation, he stated, sixty-seven per cent. is levied upon the necessities of life, eleven per cent. is paid for stamps, eight per cent. for assessed taxes, ten per cent. for the property-tax, one and a half per cent. for the post-office, and the rest for smaller matters. As indirect taxation thus pressed with unfair weight upon the working-classes, the whole question of taxation must be re-considered. By direct taxation between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 might be saved, and several taxes might be relieved with a view to their removal. After a very close debate, in which Lord John Russell and his supporters endeavoured to quash the motion, it was carried by 244 against 230; and the income-tax was limited to a duration of one year.

A few days after, Lord John Russell announced his difficulties, and his views regarding the late decision. The trying question that now remained was, what course the government should take in order to sustain public credit, and provide for the expenditure of the country. The window-tax had been exchanged for an equitable house-tax, and the duties on timber and coffee were to be reduced; but during the present inquiry there ought to be no further alterations on the income-tax during the year, nor any diminution of the means of supporting public credit, and the responsibilities to which the house had pledged itself. To this, it was answered by Mr. D'Israeli, on the part of Mr. Hume, that the house having

now determined that the income-tax should last only one year, he did not consider members bound by anything that had passed previously with respect to the other financial propositions of the government, which had proceeded under the impression that the income-tax was to last for a much longer period. These he would have the right to consider as new propositions made under greatly altered circumstances. As for the income-tax, those who opposed it only wished, not that there should be an immediate or a very speedy termination, but a slow and gradual extinction. And since this very slow progress was an inevitable necessity, was it not a duty to make the tax itself more equitable?

Mr. Hume, after the victory he had gained over the government, proceeded to form his proposed select committee, but found such difficulties as had not previously entered even into *his* habits of careful calculation. When the season of action had arrived, his keenest supporters shrank from the responsibility, some with the complaint that his measure had gone too far, and others, that it had not gone far enough, while not a few had thought that it would never come to a committee at all. At length, however, and by dint of great exertion, a committee was formed, and for a twelvemonth at least the income-tax was left to an undisturbed existence.

On the 30th of June, Mr. D'Israeli brought forward a motion for the purpose of developing the protectionist system of finance, in distinction to that of the government, and of affording opportunity for a comprehensive discussion of their merits. His motion was embodied in the three following resolutions:—

"That, according to an estimate of the probable future produce of the existing taxes, submitted to this house by the chancellor of the exchequer, it appears that a surplus revenue may be expected in the present year of about £2,000,000.

"That in the revenue so estimated, is included a sum exceeding £5,000,000 derived from the tax upon income, respecting which an inquiry has been directed to be made by a committee of this house, on the result of whose labours may depend the future renewal or modification of that important impost.

"That in this provisional state of the financial arrangements of the country, it appears to this house to be most consistent with a due regard to the maintenance of public credit and the exigencies of the public service, not to make any material sacrifice of public income in effecting such changes as may be deemed advisable in other branches of taxation."

In the speech with which these proposals were followed, Mr. D'Israeli complained, that though

there was to be a surplus of about £2,000,000, it was only assumed in the expectation that the income-tax should be renewed not merely for three years, but an indefinite period beyond them. It was now evident that the present ministry intended to continue it as long as they held office; and from their tenacity in this respect, he thought that the prospect of relief was indeed a remote one. As for the abatements that had been made in taxation, they had been mere compromises of little value. As for the agricultural distress, it still remained unrelieved. Taking in review the other financial propositions of the session, Mr. D'Israeli observed, that a deficiency of £5,000,000 would be occasioned by the threatened extinction of the income-tax; and if this measure should be accomplished, how was the deficiency to be met?—it must be either by reducing expenditure or increasing taxation. The first could not be done, and the last had been rendered hopeless, by the recent abatement of £2,000,000 of taxes. He and his friends were willing to accede to a total repeal of the window-tax, but only on condition that the house-tax should be transformed into a complete commutation. As to the timber duty, he hoped they would not persist in their impolitic proposition, but would permit the British shipbuilder to build his ships in bond. Such was the gist of a speech that occupied two hours in its delivery. In reply, the chancellor of the exchequer declared that he could extract no practical suggestion from it, except the concluding one—that it should be allowed to build ships in bond. Mr. D'Israeli's motion had said, Repeal no taxes; but his speech said, Repeal the window-tax unconditionally; and then, after the surplus was thus disposed of, his (Mr. D'Israeli's) speech had concluded with reflections on the necessity of upholding public credit, couched in high-flown language about the empire of the Cæsars with its triple crown, the mines of Golconda, pillared palanquins, and other things having as little to do with the question. The surplus of this year did not depend upon the income-tax: it was independently of it that the repeal of the more urgent burdens had been proposed; while the repeal of others would depend upon the settlement of the question, whether the income-tax was to be continued or not. Mr. D'Israeli's resolutions were negatived by 242 against 129.

In the reductions of this year upon the customs duties were those on timber and coffee, which were brought down to half their previous amount. A proposal was made for the repeal of the malt-tax; but as this yielded a revenue of £5,400,000, the loss of which would be ruinous to the revenue after the late concessions, the motion was negatived by 258 against 122. After this defeat, the

advocates for wholesome drink for the working-classes, instead of gin and foreign spirits, moved for a repeal of half the amount of the tax upon beer, but were in this instance also defeated by



THE RIGHT HON. B. D'ISRAELI.
From a print by Zobel, after the portrait by F. Grant, R.A.

a large majority. The same fate attended a motion for the remission of the duty on hops. Another motion respecting the mode of levying duty on home-made spirits taken out of bond, although ultimately lost, produced a discouraging defeat to ministers, as on its first proposal the votes of the ministers and opposition were equal, so that the question was adjourned only by the casting vote of the speaker.

Such were the chief events of a session which, with the exception of the Papal aggression, and the ecclesiastical titles bill founded upon it, presented scarcely any event of historical importance. But the great event of public interest, the crowning achievement of 1851, was not only unconnected with parliamentary proceedings, but sufficient to make amends for their poverty. We allude to the opening of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park for the exhibition of the industry of all nations on the 1st of May, of which an account will be given in that department of our history to which such an event more properly belongs. Parliament was prorogued by her majesty in person on the 8th of August.

At the re-assembling of the houses, which occurred on the 3d of February, 1852, there were several indications that the present ministry, notwithstanding that retentiveness with which they had been twitted by their opponents, held office by a precarious tenure. Not the least of these symptoms was the removal from office of Lord Palmerston, who was one of the chief sup-

porters of the government; and the causes of this removal became the earliest subject of inquiry. This explanation was given by Lord John Russell; and it appeared from it, that the offence of the secretary for foreign affairs (Lord Palmerston) had chiefly consisted in approving of Louis Napoléon's *coup d'état*, by which he had overthrown the republican party in France, and paved the way for the establishment of the empire. This, Lord John alleged, was not only putting himself in the place of the crown, but giving the moral approbation of England to the acts of the president, in direct opposition to our system of pacific policy towards France. Under these circumstances, he felt he had no alternative, while prime minister, than to advise Lord Palmerston to resign his seals of office.

Lord John then adverted to the present state of France, in its relation to the peace and safety of England, and thought it would be advisable, while maintaining our friendly relations with France, notwithstanding the late changes, to propose some augmentation of the estimates. This was no more than a necessary precaution which every prudent state ought to adopt. "It is impossible not to see," he said, "that, in the great changes which have taken place in the world within these few years, among other arts the art of war has been improved, and that it is necessary when there is, as there always is, a possibility of war, to be prepared for our defence. But, really, to see some of the letters which have been published, and to hear some of the language that has been used, it would seem that these two great nations, so wealthy, so civilized, so enlightened, were going to butcher one another, merely to see what would be the effect of percussion-shells and needle-guns. I trust these fears are only temporary; I am convinced the solid and deliberate opinion of this country and of this house is for peace—for the continuance of the most permanent and solid peace." His lordship then adverted to the terrible revolutionary year 1848, and the changes it wrought in Tuscany, Austria, Hesse, and other states, where democratic constitutions were proclaimed, and when many in that house expressed their joy at the tidings. But these democratic governments had one and all of them been strangled in their birth, and the rule of absolute power had been restored. "Now, sir," his lordship asked, "is there no moral to be drawn from this? Does it not show, in the first place, that we should not judge hastily or rashly of events occurring in foreign countries? Does it not show, likewise, that, with respect to ourselves, though it was thought we had not the same degree of liberty as some of those states, we have done wisely to adhere to our ancient institutions? . . . I trust, therefore, that we shall,

with regard to our own country, continue in the path of peaceable and safe reform, rather than, by the adoption of anything discordant with our institutions, run the risk of losing the very liberty for which we make the change. But as to foreign countries, there is this to be said, that while we do not interfere with their domestic concerns—while we abstain from any intemperate judgment on their internal affairs—yet, there is one result which comes home to us, and imposes upon us a duty from which we cannot flinch. All these various governments of foreign states, as each gets uppermost, send their enemies and opponents out of the country; and the consequence is, that we have many who are seeking refuge in England. In giving them hospitality we are but pursuing the ancient and known policy of this country; we are but doing that which was celebrated two centuries ago." In concluding this explanation of his pacific and conciliatory plan of policy, the wisdom of which a short time sufficed to demonstrate, the premier emphatically wound up the conclusion: "I must again repeat, that in any measures we have to take—that in any measures which we may have to submit to this house—it shall be our object not to increase that unreasonable panic, but to alleviate it. It is my persuasion that it is wise at all times to take precautions against contingent and possible danger; but, at the same time, I say, there is no reason to suppose that any danger threatens us—that there is, in fact, no dispute between us and any other power. I have the happiness to say, that the relations of peace exist between this country and foreign nations in the fullest degree. I trust they may continue to do so; and while I deplore events which have passed on the continent of Europe—events which, I fear, were but the too certain consequences of the revolution of 1848—I do trust that by peace and civilization, by the intelligence which is daily pouring in on us, by the inventions made to improve the condition of mankind, liberty shall be at length introduced and established, and that, with religion, it shall govern the hearts of men, and produce happier days to mankind."

After an explanatory speech from Lord Palmerston upon the subject of his retirement, the attention of the house was directed to the great periodical question of parliamentary reform. This had been called for in the following paragraphs of the royal speech at the opening of the session:—"It appears to me that this is a fitting time for calmly considering whether it may not be advisable to make such amendments in the act of the late reign, relating to the representation of the commons in parliament, as may be deemed calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded.

"I have the fullest confidence that in any such consideration you will firmly adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured."

In accordance with this intimation of the purpose of the government, Lord John Russell announced, on the 9th of February, his intended bills for further parliamentary reform. He proposed to disfranchise the smaller nomination boroughs in cases of proved corruption, and to make a considerable change in the mode of inquiry into cases of corruption. He also proposed to extend the general franchise by lowering the established £10 to a £5 qualification for households, and to give the county franchise to persons living without the borough who paid 40s. annually of assessed taxes. Upon the qualification for members, he proposed that the oaths taken at the table of the house should be altered, the chief of these alterations being the omission of the words "on the faith of a true Christian." On a change of offices held under the crown, vacation of the seat and re-election were not to be required. And lastly, although he did not propose to alter the county franchise in Ireland, he wished to reduce that for cities and boroughs from £8 to £5.

After some discussion, in which it was manifest that the subject of parliamentary reform for the present had a very inferior degree of interest—that some other measure occupied the thoughts of the house—leave was given to bring in this reform bill at the specified period of three weeks afterwards. During the interval, the militia bill was brought in, by which the overthrow of the ministry was occasioned.

This bill was explained by Lord John Russell in a committee of the whole house, on the 16th of February. It was a matter of vital importance, as it concerned the national defence at a time when war, and even invasion, might have been apprehended, in consequence of the recent political changes in France. These were fully stated by his lordship as the causes of his present proposal, and he alluded to the facility with which Britain might now be invaded, from the changes produced by steam navigation. After stating the necessity of increasing our standing army, and concentrating our troops that were scattered over the colonies, his lordship announced the design of the ministry to establish a local in preference to a regular militia. The plan was as follows:—Two-thirds of the officers were to be appointed by the lord-lieutenants, one field-officer in each corps, and the others to be appointed by the crown. A qualification for officers of a certain amount of landed property was to be dispensed

with. Of the men, it was proposed that instead of limiting the standard to 18 and 30 years of age, as under the old local militia act, the limits of the ballot should, in the first year be from 20 to 23 years of age, and in the second, from 20 to 25; but any persons between 20 and 30 might volunteer, who should serve one year less than those drawn by ballot. Lord John then proceeded to detail the manner in which this militia army was to be combined. In the first year it was proposed that its number should not be less than 70,000 men, its expenses to be less than £200,000; in the second year the number should be raised to 100,000 men, and afterwards to 150,000, with proportionally increased expenses. In conclusion, he declared that, from the present aspect of affairs, it was evident some such force was needed; and he expressed his confidence that, whether his measure was accepted or not, he had laid the foundation of a force for the defence of the country.

The necessity of a national defence was felt by the dullest and advocated by the most economical, and therefore the house was at one upon this point. But was a militia the most effectual of defences? and was the present form of preparing it the best? Upon these points Lord Palmerston spoke fully. He first adverted to the suggestion of Mr. Cobden, that our navy was sufficient for the purpose, and he showed that upon any point of our coast, whose full extent it was impossible to cover, a hostile army might be landed. A land force, therefore, like the present, was the best—one dormant in peace, but ready to act with regular troops in time of war; but he thought it would be better to retain the plan of the old regular militia, and that the word "local" should be left out of the bill, which was also susceptible of other important improvements.

Leave being given to bring in the bill, Lord John Russell proposed it with several modifications. Substitutes were to be allowed, but only taken out of the same lists of the year and county, by which strict personal service would be avoided on the one hand, and the evasions attendant upon hiring substitutes on the other. Her majesty should be empowered to call out the force not only in the case of actual, but even of apprehended invasion; and it should be retained embodied not six weeks, but six months after the enemy had left our shores, with a further liability to be kept on foot for twelve months. Lord Palmerston then rose to propose his amendment, of which he had previously given notice. He thought there was an essential difference between the title of the bill and its purport; it confounded the essential distinction between a general and local militia. The danger of an invasion was most imminent at the breaking out of a war, and how

was this to be met? by having in time of peace a considerable force, organized, drilled, armed, and equipped, which could be raised at the shortest possible notice. But a local militia was not such a force. What the country wanted was a regular militia—a force that had existed nearly two centuries, instead of a local militia, which was only an occasional force for a particular emergency. He therefore proposed to insert the word “consolidate,” and omit the word “local” in the title and language of the bill. To this, Lord John Russell replied, that after some months of consultation, the government had come to the conclusion that the plan they had proposed was the best; but if the house decided to leave out the word “local,” all he could say was, that the chairman of the committee and Lord Palmerston must bring in the bill. Upon a division taking place, Lord John was outvoted by 135 against 126. He then declared, according to his pledge, that as the government had been defeated in bringing in the bill according to their own form, he must decline the responsibility of the measure. He had now been told by their decision that the house had no confidence in the government, and he moved, that the chairman and Lord Palmerston be ordered to bring in the militia bill. A scene of noisy confusion followed this display of pouting politics, and the necessary result followed: the ministers resigned office, and the Russell administration was ended. To the Earl of Derby was intrusted the task of forming a new administration, in which he succeeded. Much anxiety was felt to learn the course which the new premier meant to pursue in the present crisis both of foreign and domestic troubles; and this the earl announced in the House of Lords on the 27th of February. He was firmly bent on maintaining the blessings of universal peace, without either an ostentatious display of naval and military preparation, or a vain hope of disarming the world by casting down all our own defences. He would carefully avoid interference with other countries in the form of government they might be pleased to adopt, and would recognize it, even though it should be an absolute red republic. But while acting on these conciliatory principles, he would be anxious to put the country in a safe

position against hostile aggression, and on this head he was glad to state, that our navy was never in a better condition than at present. As for home defence, he avowed his preference to the “old constitutional force.” With regard to his principles in commerce and finance, he spoke with necessary caution; and upon the terrible question of protection, which was certain to be brought forward as the test of the new administration, he expressed himself in such terms as sufficed to keep both parties in doubt; that, he said, referring to the question of a tax on food, “could only be solved by the intelligent portion of the community;” and it was not the intention of the government to make any proposition on the subject at present. The house then adjourned to the 12th of March.



THE EARL OF DERBY.—From a portrait by W. Derby.

On the re-assembling of parliament, the gage of battle was thrown down. This was in the form of a petition from certain inhabitants of the West Riding of Yorkshire, praying for a definite answer as to whether free trade was to be maintained or abandoned. But although conjured to announce the intentions of government on this sub-

ject, the Earl of Derby still maintained his cautious oracular obscurity. All he would divulge was, that this question could only be solved by a general election, an event which the formation of the present government would materially accelerate; and that such a step as the re-imposition of a duty on corn could only be taken after careful deliberation, and then, not by a bare majority, but after an expression of very general concurrence on the part of the country. Although these answers were deliberated in both houses, and were interpreted by each party according to its hopes or fears, no further satisfaction was vouchsafed for the present. Another trial was made to ascertain the purposes of the new ministry, by the question, at what period they intended to advise the crown to dissolve the parliament. But here also there was no definite answer. The Earl of Derby contented himself with stating, that he saw no good reason for an immediate dissolution; that the attempt to govern the country by a minority was sanctioned by example so late as that of Sir Robert Peel, but that he had no hesitation in declaring his opinion,

that the next autumn ought not to pass without calling a new parliament for the expression of the national feeling as to the principles on which the government of the country should be conducted.

After this difficult ordeal had been endured repeatedly by the new premier, without committing himself either upon his commercial or protectionist intentions, the serious business of the session commenced with the militia bill, which was introduced on the 29th of March, by Mr. Spencer Walpole, the home secretary. He stated that this country, in its means of defence at least, should be on an equality with other nations; but that such was not the case at present. There were 100,000 men for the army, 30,000 in India, 15,000 pensioners, 13,500 yeomanry, in all 160,000 men. But what number of men remained out of these for our own defences? Even this was not a quarter of the army of Russia, not a half of the army of Prussia, not one-third of the army of France, and very little more than the army of Belgium. But while the British empire comprehends one-sixth of the population, and one-eighth of the habitable surface of the globe, we could not bring 25,000 soldiers on any one point in England, and that then, the rest of the country, the metropolis itself, and the queen's palace, would be left to the defence of pensioners and police. Even our fleet, too, would be insufficient to prevent invasion, as the only ships at present in commission were nine vessels of war, five frigates, one sloop, nine steamers propelled by screw, and eight steamers propelled by paddle. Mr. Walpole then detailed the government plan of the militia defence, which consisted of the following particulars:—1. To raise, if possible, without abandoning the ballot, a force of 80,000 volunteers, 50,000 being raised for the first, and 30,000 for the second year, the period of service to be five years. 2. To raise these men by bounties of £3 or £4. 3. To dispense with the property qualifications hitherto required of all officers under the rank of major. 4. The number of days' training in the year to be twenty-one, the crown having the power to extend it to seven weeks, or reduce it to three days. Lastly, to make no alteration in the existing law about the embodying of the men. As to the expense of this national array, Mr. Walpole stated that £1,200,000 would be required for bounty and equipment; but if spread over five years, it would be about £240,000 per annum, except for the first year, when the cost of equipment and clothing would raise it to £400,000. These troops being a national defence, the expenses already mentioned should be borne by the public purse, except in those districts which could not provide their proper quota.

This simple and lucid statement, even though it had been tenfold more worthy of acceptance, could not have escaped from cavil; it was the measure of a new administration whose course of action had hitherto been provokingly concealed, and for whose halting, therefore, many were on the watch. The bill passed the first stage however, and on the second reading, which occurred on the 23d of April, the debate of two nights only served to strengthen the government, by exposing the rancorous temper and weak arguments of the opposition. It was alleged, that our military contingents in the colonies could be so pared down and lessened, as to furnish 15,000 good trained soldiers for home service, with a saving of from £200,000 to £300,000—that the militia force proposed to be raised would cost too much—that it would be impracticable to raise the men without ballot—that no plan of foreign invasion could be devised against us which our diplomatic agents would be unable to detect—and that this militia system, founded on the old plan, was unsuitable to the new emergencies of modern warfare, should the apprehended evil actually occur. The second reading was passed by 355 to 165, a result that showed in a wonderful degree the confidence that had already been won by the new cabinet. The third reading, notwithstanding the objections and amendments, which were continued to the close, was passed by 187 to 142.

In the House of Lords, where the subject was introduced on the 15th of June, the most prominent speaker in the debate was the Duke of Wellington; and upon a question on which he was so completely at home, and so well entitled to speak with authority, he made one of those last public addresses, which the nation would do well to lay to heart. It was like the testament of the heroic Bruce of Scotland, which he delivered upon his death-bed, and by which the land was often defended long after he had passed away. "I am certainly the last man," he said, "to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined, or with undisciplined or half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops, you are acting with a certain degree of confidence that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence; on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to do. But we must look a little at the state in which we stand at the present moment. This country is at peace with the whole world, except in certain parts, or on the frontiers of its own distant dominions, with which operations of war are carried on by means of our peace

establishment. I say that peace establishment ought to have been effectually provided for long ago. If it had been, we should not have needed now to be told, as we have been by the noble marquis (Lansdowne) about the number of days and weeks it will take to train the militia recruits, or about the futility of expecting anything to the purpose from troops with their three weeks, or their six weeks, or what time it may be, of training. We have never, up to this moment, maintained a proper peace establishment—that is the real truth; and we are now in that position in which we find ourselves forced to form a peace establishment such as this country requires. I tell you, that for the last ten years you have never had in your army more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty of your stations in the different parts of the world: such is the state of your peace establishment at the present time, such has been the state of your peace establishment for the last ten years. . . . We are still at peace with all the world; let us, then, have a peace establishment—our constitutional peace establishment; and, when you have got that, see what you will do next. The noble marquis says, he thinks he should prefer an army of reserve. An army of reserve! What is an army of reserve? Is it an army to cost less than £40 each man all round? If he thinks that possible, I tell him that we can have no such thing. But what I desire—and I believe it is a desire the most moderate that can be formed—is, that you shall give us, in the first instance, the old constitutional peace establishment. When we have got that, then you may do what you please. The noble marquis says, very truly, that these 50,000, or 80,000, or 150,000 militiamen won't be fit for service in six months, or twelve months, or eighteen months: but I say they will be fit, at all events, for some service; and certainly they will enable us to employ in the field others who are fit for service; and in time they will themselves become fit for service. In the last war we had in service several regiments of English militia, and they were in as high a state of discipline, and as fit for service, as any men I ever saw in my life. It was quite impossible to have a body of troops in higher order, or in higher discipline, or more fit for discipline, than those bodies of British militia were at the commencement of the present century up to 1810; they were as fine a corps as ever were seen; and I say, no doubt these bodies of 50,000 or 80,000 men, whatever the number may be, will be so too, in the course of time. Everything has its beginning, and this is a commencement. You must make a beginning here, and it will take some months before you can form reserve regiments. . . . If you begin with the forma-

tion of corps under this act of parliament, they will in time become what their predecessors in the militia were; and if ever they do become what the former militia were, you may rely on it they will perform all the services they may be required to perform. I recommend you to adopt this measure, as the commencement of a completion of the peace establishment. It will give you a constitutional force. It will not be at first or for some time everything we could desire, but by degrees it will become what you want—an efficient auxiliary force to the regular army." Such was the advice of the highest of all military experience, and the bill passed into law without further difficulty.

During this session, the subject of parliamentary reform was again brought up in a variety of forms, but with little or no immediate result. The first motion on the subject was made by that indefatigable reformer, Joseph Hume, who moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend the elective franchise in England and Wales, so that every ratepayer of age, a resident in his parish for twelve months, and free from mental or legal disability, should be entitled to vote for a representative in parliament—that votes should be taken by ballot; and that the duration of parliament should not exceed three years. His proposal fared as it had done before, being rejected by an immense majority. Another, re-introduced by Mr. Locke King, for the assimilation of the county to the borough franchise, was lost by a majority against it of fifty-three. A more fortunate measure was that proposed by Lord Brougham at an early part of the session in the House of Lords, to reduce the fifty days required to elapse between a dissolution and the meeting of a new parliament to thirty-five days. A bill to this effect was passed without opposition.

A more important subject than any of these—that of election bribery and corruption—was now brought before parliament; and it soon appeared that the application was by no means premature. An appeal of this nature near the close of the last session had been made against St. Albans; and the appointment of a commission of inquiry was followed by the discovery of such a system of bribery which had prevailed for generations in this effete moth-eaten borough, that it was forthwith disfranchised, and struck out of the election list. But the same inquiry showed that the purchasable men of Verulam were not the only trespassers in this respect: other boroughs were equally corrupt and rotten; and during the present session, an act was passed extending similar commissions to every other place in which the evil was reported to exist. The dismay which this law excited in several quarters fully evinced the

necessity for its enactment. By the disfranchisement of St. Albans and also of Sudbury, four seats in parliament were annihilated; and as it was judged necessary to keep up the full number of the national representation, the government wished to create four others in their room. To this effect Mr. D'Israeli moved, that two new members should be added to the West Riding of Yorkshire, and two to the southern division of Lancashire—and this to be done before the dissolution of the present parliament. In this proposal, however, the government was defeated by a majority of eighty-six.

The growing importance of our Australasian colonies, and the propriety of giving them a representative constitution in conformity with that of the mother country, had met with a ready acquiescence; and it was now the turn of New Zealand to have her claims on this head fully considered. This lately occupied settlement of British enterprise had received in 1846 a *pro tempore* constitution which would expire in 1853, and it was needful for so important a colony that a new and more ample constitution should be in readiness to replace the old. Some difficulty, however, was found in adapting it to the anomalous character of this settlement, where the natives not only greatly outnumbered the British settlers, but were rapidly advancing in civilization and political consequence. To this also was to be added the geographical character of the two islands of which New Zealand is composed, and the manner in which it had been colonized by the detached British communities from every part of the United Kingdom. The task was undertaken by Sir John Pakington, the new secretary for the colonial department, and was executed in such a manner as to give general satisfaction, so that the bill for the New Zealand constitution passed easily through both houses. A scheme of such difficult legislation is worthy of some detail. It was proposed that New Zealand should be considered as one colony, but be divided into seven provinces, each governed by a superintendent appointed by the governor-in-chief, with a salary of £500 per annum. Each superintendent was to have a legislative council of not fewer than nine members, to be entirely elective; while the qualification of the electors, whether settlers or natives, was to consist of either a freehold worth £50, or a house—if in the town, worth £10 a year, and if in the country, worth £5—or household property with an unexpired term of three years, worth £10 a year. Whether the members of these provincial councils should be salaried was a question left to the central legislature. Fourteen subjects were specified upon which these councils were to be prohibited from legislating. At the end of every four years, new councils

were to be elected. The central legislature was to consist of the governor-in-chief as head, and two chambers; the members of the upper chamber to be appointed by the crown during pleasure, and those of the lower to be elective, the privilege of election being held on the same terms as that for the provincial councils. The number of members for the upper chamber was to be not less than ten, nor more than fifteen, at the discretion of the governor-in-chief; for the lower chamber, not less than twenty-five, nor more than forty. This central parliament was to have a five years' duration, and its enactments were to overrule those of the provincial legislatures. A civil list was to be established, of which £12,000 a year was to be reserved for the salaries of the superintendents, and £7000 a year for native purposes. Finally, the local legislature should have full power, from time to time, to enact changes in the constitution, with consent of the crown.

Such were the chief proceedings of the session previous to the dissolution of parliament; and although it was alleged that the Derby administration had done little more than carrying through those measures that had already been prepared to their hand, it was still felt that much business had been transacted, and transacted ably as well as successfully. Besides those changes, several improvements were effected in the courts of law and equity, the common law courts, the county courts, and the court of chancery, by which their processes were simplified, and their vexatious delays abbreviated. Several sanitary regulations were also passed for supplying the metropolis with water, and abolishing the practice of intramural interments. On the 1st of July, parliament was prorogued by her majesty in person, previous to its dissolution, which was announced the day after.

The first meeting of the new parliament occurred on the 4th of November, when the Hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre was elected speaker of the House of Commons, and the royal speech was delivered on the 11th; but in the House of Lords one place was vacant which it may take centuries to fill. We allude to the death of the Duke of Wellington, at Walmer Castle, on the 14th of September. His grace was already in his eighty-fourth year—and with what important events both in war and politics had that long-extended life been crowded! This bereavement formed the first announcement, the commencing mournful note of her majesty's address; and the following words, in which it was intimated, were something far beyond the language of established usage or political compliment:—"I cannot meet you for the first time after the dissolution of parliament, without expressing my deep sorrow, in

which I am sure you will participate, that your deliberations can no longer be aided by the counsels of that illustrious man whose great achievements have exalted the name of England, and in whose loyalty and patriotism the interests of my throne and of my people ever found an unfailling support. I rely with confidence on your desire to join with me in taking such steps as may mark your sense of the irreparable loss which the country has sustained by the death of



WALMER CASTLE, Coast of Kent.—From a view by S. Read.

Arthur, Duke of Wellington." It was the touching spectacle of the sovereign of the realm bewailing the decease of the best support of her throne—of the hero whose firm unswerving loyalty had been so tenderly mixed with an almost paternal affection. The deep grief of all parties and classes throughout the nation—the eulogiums in parliament—the funeral of the illustrious deceased, in which the whole country bewailed their loss as one of the greatest of national calamities—and the monuments which have been erected to his memory, attest the cordiality with which the royal advice was received, and the unanimous enthusiasm with which it was fulfilled.

But there were stern political questions at hand to dry up the public tears, and introduce other feelings than those of funeral sorrow. The smothered indignation which the doubtful language of the cabinet had excited about their intentions upon free trade and finance broke out afresh, and the combat was opened anew. This conflict was commenced on the 23d of November, by Mr. C. Villiers, who proposed his resolutions in the House of Commons to the following effect:—"That it is the opinion of this house, that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corns; and that that act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure. That it is the opinion of this house, that the maintenance and further extension of the policy of free trade, as opposed to that of protection, will best enable the property and industry of the nation to bear the burdens to which they are exposed,

and will most contribute to the general prosperity, welfare, and contentment of the people. That this house is ready to take into its consideration any measures consistent with the principles of these resolutions which may be laid before it by her majesty's ministers." If taunts not only bitter, but in many cases justly merited, could have extracted a distinct avowal from ministers of their future intentions about protection, the speech of Mr. Villiers might have shaken them from their ambiguity, and made them speak plainly out. On the other hand, it was objected by Lord Palmerston, that the present resolutions were too humbling, and that if eagerly pressed, they would probably be rejected. What he desired therefore was a middle course, embodied in the following amendment:—

"That it is the opinion of this house, that the improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people.

"That it is the opinion of this house, that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people.

"That this house will be ready to take into consideration any measure consistent with these principles, which, in pursuance of her majesty's gracious speech and recommendation, may be

laid before it." After a long debate, in which two adjournments occurred, these resolutions were agreed to by a majority of 468 to 53, the only alteration made in them being these words in the second, "without inflicting on any important interest," which were interposed after the words, "prudently extended." In this way, the policy of free trade received the full sanction of the House of Commons; and the Earl of Derby was encouraged to express his hope, that by this decision the question was finally set to rest. This hope was ratified by the decision of the lords, before whom the subject was brought on the 3d of December, and who agreed unanimously, that "this house adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any attempt to disturb its operations, or impede its progress."

In the meantime, events had been occurring in France which were destined most materially to influence the political relations between that country and Great Britain. On the 6th of December, the astounding fact was announced in both Houses of Parliament, that Prince Louis Napoleon, late President of France, was now its emperor, and that he had been elected to this highest of places by the suffrages of 8,000,000 of voters, being almost the entire adult male population of the country. Accustomed as we had been to the strange and sudden mutations of the French government, so that we had ceased to wonder at them, this event so transcended all British calculation, that at first men could not believe the tale, notwithstanding the overwhelming huzzas of the election, and the substantial deeds of imperial power with which it was immediately followed.

We have already mentioned the singular manner in which this most incomprehensible of mankind succeeded, though with an inferior title, to almost all the kingly power of the deposed Louis Philippe. Invading France with nothing but his carpet-bag, he extinguished in a twinkling the strong rival claims of the two Bourbon families, and reduced to a mere question of days or hours his own final occupation of their throne. No one who had considered either the character of the nation, or the tendencies of the Celtic races, could believe that France would long remain a republic; with them, it must be at best a temporary expedient, either to recover from an universal anarchy or to avoid it. In a republic, every man must have a voice—and what would that be in France!! A republic indeed had succeeded the overthrow of monarchy, but all its subsequent proceedings only showed the restlessness of the people, their unfitness for representative government, their ignorance of what constitutes personal and individual liberty, and the in-

nate craving by which the Celt is distinguished for that patriarchal irresponsible rule and guidance which constitutes the chief element of his political being. The whole nation was soon weary of brawling senates, and divisive councils that ended in nothing, and this more especially when they had now a Napoleon at hand. And no one knew better than he the time when and the mode in which the opportunity should be seized. In his uncle's oracular language, the "pear was ripe," and he now proceeded to pluck it. Even his enemies too had prepared the way, by endeavouring to lessen his authority, and place the army under the control of the assembly. In this way, the assembly threw the army into the hands of the president, and sealed their own doom, which was to be effected by one of those dramatic movements so congenial to a French imagination—by a *coup d'état*. Accordingly, at day-break, on the 2d of December, 1851, those Parisians who were awake saw the city wall covered with papers, and on rubbing their eyes, they found that they were proclamations, dated from the palace of the Elysée, announcing to them that the assembly was dissolved, that the council of state was dissolved, that universal suffrage was re-established, and the state of siege decreed throughout the first military division. The new plan of government was then proposed; and that the people might know what it meant, as well as be enabled to guess its final purpose, it was recommended by the new Napoleon in the following language:—"This system, created by the first consul in the beginning of the present century, has already given to France repose and prosperity. It guarantees them still. Such is my profound conviction. If you partake it, declare so by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a government without force, monarchical or republican, borrowed from some chimerical future, reply in the negative. Thus, then, for the first time since 1804, you will vote with complete knowledge of the fact, and knowing for whom and for what you vote."

To this proclamation, which burst upon his friends and enemies like a thunderbolt, the president had made only three men privy; these were M. de St. Arnaud, minister of war; M. de Morny, representative of the people; and M. de Maupas, prefect of police, who were all ready to perform their assigned parts in this strange political drama. The bold proclamation was accompanied with still bolder action; for at a few minutes after six o'clock on the same morning, and even before the bill-stickers had commenced their office, the troops were placed at their posts, the agents of police were in motion; and at one and the same instant, over the whole city, every person whose resistance to the new state of things

was apprehended, was arrested, hurried from his bed into a carriage in waiting, and whirled away he knew not whither; so that in twenty minutes, Paris was utterly emptied of its choice republicans and agitators, some of them holding the highest distinction for their past services and influence. The assembly made a desperate rally to vindicate their authority, and met at an early hour in a different building, their own being occupied by soldiers; and there they declared Louis Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor, and deprived him of all authority as president of the republic; but in a few minutes after, they were marched as prisoners through the streets, and shut up in the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay. Thus the whole authority of France, which all Europe had recognized, was ignominiously cooped up in a barrack-yard. The members were offered their liberty, on condition of

offering no resistance to the president's measures; but although they refused these terms, they were all, with the exception of fourteen, set free a few days afterwards.

In this way, by a deed more deeply planned and more daringly and skilfully executed than anything which Napoleon the Great or Cromwell had attempted, France was revolutionized, and fitted for the rule of a master. During that day, Paris looked on stupidified and motionless; but on the morning of the 3d, the cry of "To arms!" was heard, the people began to muster for the fight, and street barricades were thrown up to the amount of several hundreds. Of these, the largest and strongest was at the Porte St. Denis, across the corner of the street of that name, skilfully constructed of huge paving-stones, beams of timber, and overturned waggons, and which was assailed by infantry, cuirassiers, and lancers, backed by a heavy cannonade, before it could be stormed. But skilled though the Parisians were in the war of civic insurrection, the troops had been so skilfully disposed, that every attempt at resistance was quelled almost as soon as it commenced. No scruples also withheld the soldiers from the full execution of their task, so that besides the deaths occasioned by actual conflict, citizens, whether singly or in groups, were fired at and struck down, wherever they presented a mark. After this, the last and most formidable source of resistance, the national guard, was dis-

banded; and that the sanctions of religion might be secured both for past and future proceedings, the Pantheon was restored to its original Christian destination as the church of St. Geneviève, by a decree of the already all-powerful president.



MONSTER BARRICADE AT THE PORTE ST. DENIS, PARIS.—Illustrated London News, 1851.

And now for the voting in of the new constitution, the terms of which were already understood both from past experience and recent proclamations! But what otherwise than a general assent could be expected, especially as the army had already proclaimed their choice, and were ready to maintain it? Even those, however, who were superior to such fears, were equally ready to vote for Louis Napoleon; and the reasons for this step, as announced by M. de Montalembert in his justification for taking it, might have been re-echoed by all the wise and reflective in France. "If Louis Napoleon were unknown," he thus wrote in his public declaration, "I would undoubtedly hesitate to confer on him such a force and such a responsibility. But without entering here into an appreciation of his policy for the last three years, I recall to mind the great religious acts which marked his government as long as the two powers agreed together—the liberty of instruction guaranteed; the pope restored by French arms; its councils, synods, and the plenitude of its dignity given back to the church; the number of its colleges, its communities, and works of charity gradually increased. I seek in vain elsewhere for a system or force able to guarantee to us the preservation and development of such benefits. I see only the gaping gulf of victorious socialism." The result of these mingled motives of fear and favour was shown in the great national poll, in which 7,439,219 votes were

in favour of the president, with increased power for ten years, while only 640,737 were against him.

On the establishment of the new government, unmistakable symptoms appeared of the restoration of the old Napoleonic rule. The symbols of republicanism were to be removed, and condemned as treasonable and anarchical. The words *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, which figured on most of the public buildings, were therefore denounced by proclamation as incentives to public revolt, by reminding the people of successful insurrections, and ordered to be erased. In like manner, the trees of liberty, which were declared to be dried up and decayed sticks, were ordered to be cut down or rooted up. Certain living trees of liberty were in like manner disposed of, by several hundreds of obnoxious persons being banished to Cayenne or Algeria, or imprisoned in the fortress of Ham without the ceremony of a trial. But with all this severity, the general proceedings of the president were of such a popular character, that all lovers of order and settled government (and in France they now constituted an immense majority) thought that too much power could not be conferred on one who used it so benignantly and wisely. The effect of this feeling was shown with true French rapidity, and in a few months a general desire was felt to convert the president into an emperor. It seemed to them as if the mere name of Napoleon was insufficient, and of no meaning, unless coupled with the imperial title. At length all was in such readiness for the change, that a meeting of the senate was convoked in November, 1852, for the purpose of framing a *senatus consultum* for the empire; and there the president was proclaimed emperor, under the title of Napoleon III., and the imperial dignity made hereditary in his direct descendants, or failing issue, in the descendants of his uncle's brothers, whomsoever he might be pleased to adopt. The public voting for the empire, which commenced on the 21st of November, and was continued for several days, confirmed this decision of the senate by 7,824,189 votes, while only 253,145 were against it. Be its permanency what it may, no national choice could be more universally or distinctly intimated.

A new comet had thus risen in the political horizon of Europe "with fear of change perplexing monarchs;" and by no country was this apprehension more keenly felt than by Britain. It was remembered, that of all her military disasters, that

which rrankled the most in French feeling was the defeat of Waterloo, and it was thought that the new emperor would be compelled to signalize his reign by an attempt to avenge it. One guarantee, indeed, the country had for a continued peace, in a speech of the emperor himself at his accession; he had declared that he was sovereign only by the voice of the people, and not by hereditary right to the throne; that he distinctly recognized all the governments that had existed in France since 1814; that he recognized the acts of these governments; and that he acknowledged the solidarity of his government as succeeding the others. These were guarantees, so far as they could go, of his purpose to continue those amicable relations which had subsisted so long between France and Britain; but who could tell what necessities might compel him to yield to those warlike impulses which were so congenial to the French character? Even the possibility of an invasion might now be more certain than before. It was not difficult therefore for the British parliament to agree to that proposal for strengthening our naval defences which had been made in the earlier part of the year. Accordingly, it was carried without a dissenting vote, that 6000 additional men should be employed in the sea service till the 31st of March, 1853; that a Channel fleet and a screw fleet should be established; and that £100,000 should be granted for the expenses of steam machinery. Additional estimates were also voted for the ordnance service.

The stability of the Derby administration was now to be tried upon the question of financial re-adjustment, upon which they could no longer maintain their cautious silence. Their plan was accordingly developed by Mr. D'Israeli, the chancellor of exchequer, on the 3d of December, in an eloquent speech of five hours' length. Into its long details, however, it is unnecessary to enter, as both plan and supporters were swamped in the attempt. The new chancellor had devoted himself heart and soul to the task, and had devised a financial scheme by which all former ones were to be surpassed as well as superseded; but it pleased no one and effected nothing. The debate was continued during four nights by successive adjournments, and the government was defeated by a majority of 305 against 286. Resignation after such a defeat was unavoidable, and accordingly, the Earl of Derby and his colleagues repaired to Osborne, and gave up their offices into her majesty's hands.

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1853.

VICTORIA.

Formation of a new administration—Re-assembling of parliament—Attack on the new ministry—Motion for a remonstrance against the religious persecutions in Tuscany—Discussion of our relations with France—The Maynooth question—Inquiry demanded into the education of Maynooth college—Motion on the subject negatived in the commons by an amendment—A committee of inquiry on Maynooth education appointed by the House of Lords—Reasons adduced for and against the inquiry—Canadian clergy reserves bill—Parliamentary debate on the subject—The bill passed—The Jewish disabilities bill—It is revived by the election of Mr. Salomons to a seat in parliament—Bill for the removal of disabilities lost in the lords—Government plan of education proposed by Lord John Russell—His detail of the plan and its advantages—Comprehensive character of the plan—Permission given for an educational bill to be introduced—Nothing further effected—Finance—Resolutions proposed by the chancellor of exchequer in connection with the national debt—Their introduction into parliament approved of—Success of the chancellor's financial exposition—Popular character of his plan of retrenchment—A stand made against the continuation of the income-tax—The chancellor's bill passed through the commons—Opposition to it from the lords on account of the income-tax—Various obstacles to the bill—It finally passes—Motion for the repeal of taxes on knowledge—One out of three resolutions carried—Increase of nunneries in England and Wales—Suspensions of their coercive character—Motion to facilitate the recovery of personal liberty among their inmates in certain cases—Statements of the despotic character of these institutions—The bill negatived—Counter-motion against the Protestant Established Church of Ireland—Fallacious arguments by which the motion is supported—Answer to these arguments by Lord John Russell—The bill rejected—Bill to alter and amend the laws of church rates—A counter-motion brought forward—Both are negatived—Registration of assurances bill—Its previous frequent failures—It passes a third reading, but is withdrawn—Charitable trusts bill passed—Question of the transportation of our convicts—Impossibility of finding a new penal settlement—Secondary punishments substituted for transportation—Attention of parliament called to India affairs—Statement of the defects of our India government—Bill introduced for their removal—Lord Macaulay's statement on India affairs—The bill passed.



NEW administration was formed by a combination of the Whig party and the followers of Sir Robert Peel, having at their head the Earl of Aberdeen as first lord of the treasury: Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; with Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and the Duke of Newcastle for the home, foreign, and colonial secretaries, &c. The Earl of Aberdeen announced the line of policy he meant to follow, the principal particulars of which were, that he would endeavour to maintain the general peace of Europe without relaxing those defensive measures so recently adopted and too long neglected; and that at home, he would maintain and extend free-trade principles, and pursue the commercial and financial system of the late Sir Robert Peel. The measures of the government would be conservative as well as liberal, for both were essentially necessary in the present state of things.

The Christmas recess being ended, parliament re-assembled on the 10th of February. In the House of Lords, the signal of onset against the new ministry was given by the Earl of Derby, in a question with which he had often himself been assailed, but had found difficult or inconvenient to answer; he asked Lord Aberdeen, what measures were intended for the session, and

urged the premier to lay a statement of them before the house. To this the latter replied, that he had already stated the general principles on which government would proceed, and as for the particular measures, they would be announced in the House of Commons. This was accordingly done on the same day by Lord John Russell.

The first business into which parliament entered, was to discuss the propriety of a proposal made by Mr. Kinnaird to address the queen on the subject of the persecution of the Protestants in Tuscany. There, it was declared, a systematic course of religious persecution had been established; and the last instance of this nature, the imprisonment of the family of the Medici, had roused the resentment of Protestant Britain, so that the public demand for our government to interpose was both loud and influential. The motion of Mr. Kinnaird proposed a remonstrance on the part of Great Britain, in concert with the Protestant governments of Prussia and Holland, for putting a stop to this religious tyranny. The house was recommended to leave this question in the hands of government, which had already remonstrated on the subject; and accordingly the motion was withdrawn. Another subject of discussion, brought forward by Mr. D'Israeli, was that of our relations with France. There was still a profound peace between the two countries, while our

armaments were continuing to be increased; and he wished to have a frank explanation from government as to how its foreign policy in this important case was to be conducted. To this it was answered, that we were on terms of intimate friendship with France, and would not interfere with its domestic concerns; that the virulent language used by our platform orators against the emperor was highly reprehensible; and that the increase of our armaments was only a wise precaution, when we recollected on what slight occasions, at such a period as this, unexpected hostilities might occur. Here the discussion terminated.

After the late Papal aggression, it could not be expected that the Maynooth question, so often the subject of keen debate in both houses, would be allowed to pass over undisturbed. At one time the propriety of endowing the college, at another the character of its education, was the subject of angry question both within doors and without. On the 22d of February it was awakened into full vigour, by a motion of Mr. Spooner, for a committee of the whole house to consider the act relating to Maynooth College. He had previously overtured upon the subject; but his facts, he complained, while uncontradicted, had been met with abuse, and the imputation of selfish motives. He now demanded inquiry into the character of the books from which its teaching was derived, and the effects of that teaching; and he proceeded to show from the text-books that were used, and from recent proceedings of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, that the college had not corresponded to the expectations and intentions of the founders. The motion of Mr. Spooner was met by an amendment of Mr. Scholefield, in which he moved that the consideration of the committee should be extended to "all enactments now in force, whereby the revenue of the state is charged in aid of any ecclesiastical or religious purposes whatsoever, with a view to the repeal of such enactments." This counter-proposal, like a wedge, split the Protestantism of the house into its two antagonist divisions of state church and dissenterism, from whose contention Popery had ere now derived its strongest chance of safety. The debate was

continued by adjournment over the 24th of February, and the 2d of March; and the damaging effect of the amendment was conspicuous throughout, and resolved itself chiefly into the question whether churches should be endowed or not. The original motion was defeated by a division of 192 against 162, and the amendment upon which the debate was continued was negatived by 262 to 68.

The subject, thus set to rest in the House of Commons for a season, was taken up by the lords on the 18th of April, in consequence of the Earl of Winchelsea moving for a committee "to inquire into the system of education pursued at Maynooth." His lordship traced the late Papal insult to our sovereign, and indeed most of the evils of Popery, to the canon law, according to which the pope assumed temporal as well as spiritual authority over the subjects of other sovereigns; and he showed by extracts from books and documents on the Papacy, that the canon law, and the doctrines it inculcates, were taught at Maynooth. It was high



THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.—From a portrait by Desmaisons.

time therefore, he thought, that such a system of education should be suppressed. Lord Aberdeen, who replied, observed that a commission had made in 1826 a full inquiry into the subject, followed by a most elaborate report; and that this had been thought sufficient to supersede the necessity of the present proposal: but as public opinion had demanded the inquiry, he would not check it, and he believed that it would redound to the advantage and credit of the college. But he objected to the proposed select committee, and desired a fair and impartial inquiry by able and independent men, on which account he would propose the following amendment, of which he had previously given notice:—"That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that her majesty will be graciously pleased to issue a commission to inquire into the management and government of the college of Maynooth, the discipline and the course of studies pursued therein; also into the effects produced by the increased grants conferred by parliament in 1845."

As dissenterism was not to be found in the British peerage, there was no word in the debate

about the disestablishment of churches, and the blessings of the voluntary principle. All was therefore left to the question, whether Popery should continue to enjoy its state endowments or be left to shift for itself. The chief arguments used in favour of the Maynooth grant were, that it went far to break the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, which had been so fertile in political contention—that the system of education pursued at Maynooth was precisely that which was necessary to form a Roman Catholic priest—and that the proposed inquiry would produce nothing but misunderstanding, mischief, and discord. On the other hand, it was alleged, that the grant had produced no improvement in the character of the Irish priesthood; that it trained a greater number of priests than were needed in the present reduced state of Irish Popery; and that the persons educated there would never rest until they had effected the overthrow of Protestantism. The nature of the inquiry was also a subject of debate, some preferring a committee, according to the original motion, and others a commission, according to Lord Aberdeen's amendment. Against the latter mode of inquiry it was objected by the Earl of Derby, that the persons composing it must derive their views from parties who were connected with the institution, in which case, even if they were perfectly impartial men, still they would give the house only partial evidence. The inquiry ought to be on oath; but commissioners would have no power to examine on oath, or to compel witnesses to answer. The original motion was thrown out by 110 against 53, and Lord Aberdeen's amendment adopted. In this way the Maynooth question was set aside for future altercation.

The Canadian clergy reserves bill was another Protestant question that had already occasioned much contention. When the province of Canada had been divided in 1791 into two parts, an act was passed, that whenever the crown should dispose of waste lands, one-seventh of their value should be reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy. But during the fifty years that succeeded, complaints had been made that this seventh had been unfairly distributed, and that the clergy of the established churches of England and Scotland had received the larger share. In consequence of the quarrels between the legislative council and the house of assembly which this subject of complaint occasioned, and their appeal to the home legislature, an act had been passed in 1840, when the upper and lower provinces were united. By this act it was decreed, that the one-fourth of the church land already sold should be considered as belonging to the churches of England and Scotland, in the proportion of two to one; that of the remaining

three-fourths, one-half should be considered as belonging to the churches of England and Scotland in the proportion of two to one; and with regard to the other half of the three-fourths, it should be left to the disposal of the Governor-general of Canada and the executive council, for the purposes of religious worship and education. But since 1840, the population of Canada had more than doubled, and the condition of the colony was materially altered. The bill, therefore, which was now introduced into the commons by Mr. F. Peel, was for the purpose of giving the Canadian legislature the power, if it thought fit, of altering the existing arrangement, the matter being not of imperial, but wholly and exclusively of colonial concern.

Leave being given to bring in this bill, an animated discussion followed, especially on the 4th of March, upon its second reading. On this occasion it was argued by its opponents, that these reserves had from the beginning been set apart and dedicated to the service of religion—the Protestant religion in Canada; and could not now be diverted from the purpose even by parliament itself, without committing a mortal sin. And granting that Canada possessed the right of self-control, still the act of the imperial parliament was binding upon it. With regard to the policy of the measure, that too was condemned; for if the loyal Upper Canadians should renounce their allegiance, and annex their country to the United States, the original grant would nevertheless be rigidly enforced by the American law. And would it be wise or prudent to show to loyal subjects of the British crown, who were attached to their church, that the monarchy of England disregarded obligations which a republic was willing to respect? Lastly, those pioneers of civilization, the Protestant missionaries of Canada, were supported by the fund which this bill would alienate from them, while the Canadian Roman Catholics themselves would deprecate the alienation, as such a measure would endanger their own endowments. To this it was answered, that the act of 1840 had not been received by the Canadians as a final measure, and that the words "Protestant clergy," in that of 1791, were not limited to the clergy of the Church of England. All questions affecting religious endowments in a colony were essentially local, and, according to the rules of our colonial policy, should be dealt with by the local legislature. And when we had given self-government to Canada, were we not to respect that right?

The second reading passed by a large majority, and the third came on upon the 11th of April. On this occasion, when Mr. Walpole moved to defer the reading for six months, the Roman Catholic interest in the question was brought

into full discussion. The house had been told, he said, that the great object of the measure was to give the Canadian legislature the fullest power over all matters of purely local concern. But when the bill was examined in committee, it appeared not to be confined to these matters: it extended to investments made in this country, and enabled the Canadian legislature to deal with these investments, although they affected no local interests;—and further, that endowments to Roman Catholics could not be touched without the authority of the imperial parliament, while endowments to Protestants in Canada could be dealt with and destroyed by a majority of the Canadian legislature alone. The third reading was carried by 288 to 208.

In the House of Lords, the second reading of the bill was moved on the 22d of April. The Bishop of Exeter moved an amendment "that the bill be not read for six months," upon the plea that the bill could only pass, if parliament would reserve a guarantee that the clergy reserves should not be secularized; and he adduced a long array of precedents to prove that the imperial parliament has power to control the colonial parliaments. This amendment, however, was withdrawn in consequence of a proposal of the Earl of Derby, by which the mode of contest was altered. His lordship, instead of giving the bill a distinct negative, would content himself with moving in committee certain propositions that would give the Canadian legislature more extensive power than had been done by the act of 1791, but, at the same time, maintaining inviolate and for ever all the appropriations for the Church of Scotland or the Church of England. On this understanding the bill being read a second time without a division, the House of Lords went into committee, and the earl produced his promised proposals; which having been adopted, the bill passed its third reading on the 28th of the same month.

The question of Jewish disabilities with respect to the admission of that proscribed race into parliament, had neither slept nor slumbered since the exclusion of Baron Rothschild. On the contrary, a still more determined Hebrew than the baron, who had been elected member for Greenwich in 1851, had presented himself at the bar of the House of Commons to take the oaths of membership, and had resolutely refused to swallow the unpalatable test "on the faith of a true Christian." This was Alderman Salomons, lord-mayor of London. But on being ordered to withdraw, he at first only retired below the bar; and on a future day, when the discussion was renewed, he boldly took his seat on the ministerial side of the house, from which it required the serjeant-at-arms to dislodge him.

He even voted twice upon the question of his own admission, and delivered a short speech before he was compelled to withdraw. It seemed impossible but that at some period, and that too not very remote, such increasing boldness and perseverance would achieve a full and free admission. This question of Jewish eligibility for membership was moved by Lord John Russell for the consideration of a committee of the whole house, on the 24th of February. In addition to his old arguments on the subject, his lordship pleaded, that although it was alleged that the Jews were meant to be divided from all other nations, yet it was not for us to carry out the decrees of the Almighty. There was no ground of objection but prejudice, and the plea that we were a Christian nation, and that ours was a Christian legislature. Should we not remain so in spite of the admission of a few Jews into that house? He therefore requested the honourable members to do away with the remaining disqualifications which attached to a class of British subjects upon whose loyalty they relied, and of whose co-operation they would be glad; and to remove them on the grounds of truth and justice alone. His appeal prevailed: the house went into committee, and the resolution was passed, "That it is expedient to remove all the civil disabilities at present existing, affecting her majesty's subjects of the Jewish persuasion, in like manner, and with the exceptions as are provided with reference to her majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion;" and a bill to this effect was ordered to be brought in.

The house was weary of this oft-repeated subject, in which nothing new could be adduced, and the debate went on languidly, and was listened to with impatience. The second reading was carried; and the third, with a haste that was complained of, was hurried on for the 15th of April, when it was also carried. The second reading was moved in the lords on the 29th by Lord Aberdeen, who gave a brief review of the whole ground of argument both religious and political; and he was answered by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who stated the principal objections that operated against the bill, and moved that it be read that day six months. During the debate, the Jews found effectual advocates in the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of St. David's, the former asserting that the removal of their disabilities would be the triumph rather than the defeat of Christianity; while the latter adverted to the liberality of Jewish tolerance in the cause of Christian missions, and the building of churches. But the bill was lost in the second reading by 164 to 115, and the removal of these disabilities was reserved to a more convenient season which was certain to occur at last.

On the 4th of April, the government plan of education was brought forward by Lord John Russell. He commenced with a statement of the good that had been done by the establishment of public day-schools in opposition to those that were voluntary and secular. The total number of these day-schools, both public and private, now amounted to 44,898, at which 2,108,473 children of both sexes were educated. As for the voluntary and secular schools belonging to the different religious denominations, their number amounted to 19,856, with an attendance of 1,281,077 pupils. The weekly pence payment of these schools might be estimated at 500,000, or nearly one-half of the amount expended in their maintenance. Still the secular system of education was judged insufficient by government: it was felt desirable that Christianity, hitherto excluded from these schools, should be taught there; but the religious divisions of the country would prevent the imposition of a national rate for this purpose. It was thought, however, that corporate towns might obtain the means of supporting schools by rates, two-thirds of the town-council being agreed in imposing it. The rate thus raised should be applied, also, not to establish schools in substitution of the former ones, but in aid of the voluntary efforts of individuals, and of the school pence of the pupils. "We should propose," said his lordship, "some such scheme as this—that the rate might be applied to pay 2*d.* in the week for the scholars, provided 4*d.* or 5*d.* were contributed from other sources. We should propose, likewise, that the schools which should receive this assistance should be schools which, under the minutes of council, might receive assistance, and which consequently have for years received the sanction of parliament." This was a better plan than that which had lately failed at Manchester, of forming a plan for new schools, in which they had disagreed. To combine the *sine qua non* of religious instruction with the utmost liberty of conscience, "we intend," said his lordship, "that in these schools, the parent shall have the power of withdrawing his child from the religious instruction to which he might object; for it is obvious that the parent, on the one hand, would not send his child to a school where the religious instruction was repugnant to his feelings; and, on the other hand, the school which had a strict rule that every child must receive religious instruction, would refuse to receive the child of a parent objecting." As it would be necessary to make additional grants for building schools in poor localities, the following statement was made on this head: "I should say that the country generally may be divided into places of three different conditions—1. Where the education is already sufficient in quantity and

quality; 2. Where it is not sufficient either in quantity or quality; and 3. Where the education is entirely deficient. The first class is already considerable, and is increasing; the third class is certainly not very large; but it is the second class which is the most important of the whole, and therefore requires the utmost aid and assistance."

These are but a few of the principal points which Lord John Russell detailed at length in the government plan of education. But the public charities in which education formed a part were also to be supervised, the schools of practical art assisted, and the system of the two universities improved. This last, however, was dangerous ground, and was not to be entered until the matter should have reached a more advanced stage of consideration. In the university of Oxford, it had been discovered by a commission of inquiry, that a material change was necessary in its government, and he stated that some such change had been determined. Having pointed out those time-honoured evils which needed reformation, Lord John thus concluded:—"I trust I have made it clear to the house that we shall not at the present time, or without giving full opportunity to the universities to consider what they themselves ought to do, propose to parliament any measure on the subject. At the same time we shall keep closely in view those objects in this matter which we deem essential. If the universities adopt these objects, and carry them into effect as far as they can, applying to parliament for the powers they may find requisite to the full development of those objects, the government will gladly concur in that result. If, on the other hand, the universities will not take this course—if prejudice shall prevent those having authority and influence there from making the alterations which are requisite—then it will be our duty as a government no longer to hesitate, but to bring in those measures which we deem called for by the necessities and expediences of the case."

Having explained the government plan for the extension of education in England and Wales, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to that effect. His details, which were luminous as well as long and complex, had arrested the attention of the house; and, in the debate that followed, the sentiments of the members were delivered for or against it in the most express terms. Of course it was thought by some not to meet all the requirements of the case—not to go far enough—while Mr. Hume and his party alleged that the object could not be accomplished until the system of secular education was adopted. One member advocated the necessity of *compulsory* education for the "savages" of society, while others deprecated the imposition

of a general rate, until the wish of corporate towns had been received. And why meddle with the universities? While the members who were connected with these venerable seats of learning stepped forward in their defence, there were others who thought that the schools of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, and the university of Durham, of which no mention had been made, were fully as needful of reform as the colleges of Cambridge and Oxford. The more minute portions of this educational scheme were also the subjects of question and altercation; but, upon the whole, the necessity of a national plan was felt, while none better than the present could be proposed in its stead. Leave accordingly was given to bring in the bill; but, having accomplished thus much, government ventured no further into the measure. The plan waited, as even yet it must wait, for the succession of a wiser generation and the coming of a better day. It was not by an act of summary legislation that so vital a change could be accomplished.

During this session, the important operations of finance were commenced by Mr. Gladstone, the chancellor of the exchequer, with a series of resolutions which he proposed on the subject of the national debt. These, which were fifteen in number, were designed to effect, not only a present relief, but a permanent advantage, by an absolute saving of a quarter per cent. for ever upon the interest of public debt. It is enough to state for the feasibility of the plan that it was approved of by Joseph Hume and ridiculed by Benjamin D'Israeli, and that the resolutions one by one were agreed to.

The chancellor's financial exposition followed on the 18th of April, in a speech of remarkable power, that occupied five hours in the delivery. From the difference between the estimate of last year and the real returns, there was a surplus of £2,460,000; but, from the increased expenses, arising chiefly from public education, the defences of the country, and the militia, this sum would be reduced to about £700,000. After this statement he proceeded to a consideration of the taxes; and first in the list was the income-tax, that "colossal engine of finance" which, during the late war, had been the salvation of the country. After showing that from 1806 to 1815 it had raised £7,000,000 more than the charges occasioned by the government and war, he added those words, that may be regarded as a prophecy in stereotype, and which have now more weight than, perhaps, at that period he was able to surmise: "It affords to me the proof that if you do not destroy the efficacy of this engine—I do not now raise the question whether it is to be temporary or permanent, which I hold to be quite a different question, and I will go into that by and by—it

affords you the means, should, unhappily, hostilities again break out, of at once raising your army to 300,000, and your fleet to 100,000, with all your establishments in proportion. And much as may be said of the importance—in which I



THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE.
From a photograph by Maull and Polyblank.

concur—of an army reserve and navy reserve, and of having your dockyards and your arsenals well stored, I say this fiscal reserve is no less important; for, if it be used aright, it is an engine to which you may resort, and with which, judiciously employed, if unhappily necessity arise—which may God, in his mercy, avert—with it judiciously employed, you may again, if need be, defy the world." The intention of government, after having made certain mitigations in the inequalities with which it bore upon different persons and properties, was to renew the tax for two years from April, 1853, at the present rate of 7*d.* in the pound; for two years more, from April, 1855, at 6*d.*; and for three years more, from April, 1857, at 5*d.*; so that the tax would expire on the 5th of April, 1860. Incomes between £100 and £150 were also to pay 5*d.* in the pound for the whole time the tax continued. It was also resolved to extend the tax to Ireland, which would yield an increase of £460,000 a year. Still further to equalize the burdens that pressed too heavily on intelligence and skill as compared with property, certain changes were to be made in the legacy duty, by introducing a duty into all successions whatever, which, by the year 1856–57, he calculated, would add £2,000,000 annually to the permanent revenue of the country. The changes contemplated upon other taxes were then announced. An addition of 1*s.* per gallon on Scotch spirits, and 8*d.* on Irish, was to be imposed, with a drawback for waste upon

spirits in bond. An increase was to be made on the licenses of brewers, dealers in tea and coffee, tobacco and soap, amounting in all to £113,000. And while Ireland was to be charged with the income-tax and the duty on spirits, it was to be relieved from the consolidated annuities, amounting to £4,500,000, which would cease from the date of the 29th of last September.

Against these proposals of increase the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to show an offset of contemplated reductions. There was to be an entire abolition of the duty on soap, that yielded to the revenue £1,111,000. The tax on life assurance was to be reduced from 2s. 6d. to 6d. per £100. Receipt-stamps were to be reduced to the uniform rate of a "penny-head stamp." The duty on apprentice indentures was to fall from 20s. to 2s. 6d. The charge upon annual certificates of metropolitan solicitors was to be reduced from £12 to £8, and of country solicitors from £9 to £6. The duty on advertisements in newspapers was to be reduced from 1s. 6d. to 6d., with a repeal of the 1d. and $\frac{1}{2}$ d. stamps on supplements used for advertisements. The duty on hackney carriages was to be reduced from 1s. 5d. to 1s. Similar reductions were to be made on taxed servants, private carriages, post-chaises for hire, horses, and dogs. Facilities were to be afforded for the redemption of the land-tax by a diminished percentage. Of the articles of food, including tea, 13 were to have their duties reduced immediately, 133 ultimately, and 123 to be freed from duty altogether. The effect of these changes in the customs duties, Mr. Gladstone calculated, would be a loss to the revenue for the current year of £1,338,000; but this, from the increased consumption, would soon diminish to £658,000. The total remissions in taxation for the present year would be £2,568,000, but there still would remain a surplus of £493,000. Seldom had the budget been louder cheered by the house, or more gladly welcomed by the whole country at large, which still continues to rejoice in the financial arrangements of this memorable year.

On the 25th of April the debate on the budget commenced; and, as the continuation of the income-tax to the year 1860 composed the foundation of the long list of concessions that were demanded, it was upon this important point that the discussion was waged. Could not those blessings be secured without the income-tax? was the question of one party. Could it not be further modified? was the demand of another. Could not its term be abbreviated? was queried by a third. The agriculturists complained that their interests had been sacrificed, and the Irish party that their country would be oppressed by the proposed measure. This last cry rose into an

absolute howl: Ireland would pay more than her share, if the income-tax should be imposed upon her at the last hour; it would drive her children into exile across the Atlantic; it was inconsistent with the act of union; it would injure her manufactures, which England had laboured to destroy from the time of "hook-nosed William" downwards. And what security had we, it was generally asked in the course of debate, that this income-tax would actually cease its existence in 1860? Such were the principal objections brought forward. The debate was continued during four nights; and the hottest opposition was from the Irish party, who made certain strange charges about bribery and corruption that for a time threw the house into an uproar. Still, the chief weight was on the ministerial side; and, after several amendments had been rejected, and five new clauses, proposed by Mr. Gladstone, been adopted, the third reading was carried on the 6th of June by 126 against 55.

On the 20th, the second reading of the bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Aberdeen. His lordship acknowledged the objectionable nature of the income-tax—of which, indeed, in the abstract, there could be no question—but it was impossible, he declared, to avoid its renewal without imposing other taxes still more objectionable. Even in its most obnoxious parts—the taxing of precarious incomes and realized property—it was impossible so to legislate as to give general satisfaction. The Earl of Derby declared the tax to be inevitable; but he objected to its principle, and he criticized the calculations of the budget as vague and fallacious. Lord Brougham not only condemned its principle, but saw no prospect of the extinction of this "execrable tax," either one year or seven years hence. The second reading, however, passed without a division, and the third was moved on the 27th of June, when Lord Brougham repeated his objections, with several additional arguments: he was constrained, however, to confess that, with all its evils, the tax was a matter of necessity, and could not be spared. The Irish claims to exemption were not lost sight of, and were brought forward by the Earl of Wicklow in favour of Irish landlords, who would have to pay tax on rents which they never received. In Ireland, he said, rent was not lost from insolvent, bankrupt, or absconding tenants, but from tenants who would neither pay nor abscond. These landlords, too, it was declared by the Marquis of Clanricarde, were not the disloyal agitators, but the very class who ought to be conciliated. The bill, however, was passed, and became law.

The income-tax being thus established, the other prominent departments of the chancellor's plan were successively taken up and dis-

cussed. And first of these was the succession duty, which was moved in the House of Commons, on the 10th of June, to be read for the second time. It extended not only to individuals, but to corporate bodies, who were to pay an annual tax for seven years, at the rate of 3*d.* in the pound upon their corporate property, with certain specified exceptions. The second reading passed, and on its going into committee, the chief resistance it experienced was from Sir John Pakington, who complained of the injury it would inflict not only on landholders, but small traders, owners of small estates, younger children, and unmarried daughters. An uncle or a cousin, he exclaimed, "aged thirty-nine, succeeding to an income of £100 a year, would have to pay £45; and a man succeeding to an income of £1000, would have to pay £450; and this latter with the income-tax besides! Such a proposal would not have been submitted to the house, if the burden had fallen upon existing owners of property." The third reading was introduced on the 18th of July; but a question involving so many personal interests had been obliged to fight its way, step by step, through every form of argument, remonstrance, and cavil, before it reached this stage. After numerous amendments had been rejected, it was finally carried in the commons by 176 to 102. In the lords, the second reading of the bill was moved on the 22d of July, by the Earl of Aberdeen; and the keenness of debate which it occasioned evinced the personal and vital importance which the aristocracy of Britain felt in it. It was called "absurd and cowardly," a "revival of the old Norman tax *in capite*," and "grossly unjust and unfair." There were many cases, it was alleged, in which persons had anticipated their successions to such an extent, as to have almost entirely squandered them; and in such cases, the government stepped in, because a man had been a spendthrift, and ruined him altogether. A person knowing that he was to succeed to property, might anticipate, and spend nine-tenths of its value; and when the remaining tenth would enable him to make a fair start in life, this new tax to be imposed would entirely swallow it up. As far as the right to spend in anticipation went, a perfect right to do so undoubtedly existed. The bishops were appealed to, and asked if they would be parties in these obnoxious regulations, while they were themselves exempt from their operation? It was replied, that this tax was neither a courting of popularity, nor the opposite: popularity for any tax was out of the question; all that could be done was to preserve it from dislike. As for the extreme cases of enormous hardship which had been quoted, the same might be said of any tax whatever. Opposite cases were also given

to show that the payment of the duty would not be onerous either on large or small successions, as it would be spread over eight half-yearly instalments, which on an estate worth £1000 a year, would amount to £150, or £37, 10*s.* per annum for four years. The tax, it was also alleged, was not aimed at a particular class, but at all classes; and the position of the owners of land would be strengthened by making them amenable to the same law as their fellow-subjects. The great families of the country did not owe their position to exemptions from burdens. Did the Duke of Norfolk owe his high position to having escaped the legacy duty? Why, the great families and landed proprietors would gain, in the prosperity of the country, infinitely more than they would be called on to pay. In spite of an immense amount of opposition, the bill passed its third reading through the House of Lords on the 28th of July.

The taxes upon knowledge were taken into consideration on the 14th of April, in consequence of three resolutions moved by Mr. Milner Gibson. The first was, that the advertisement duty be repealed; the second, that the imposition of stamp duties and other restrictions on the cheap periodical press is inexpedient, and that the law relative to taxes on newspapers is in an unsatisfactory state; the third resolution was, that the excise duty on paper materially obstructs good cheap literature, and that the maintenance of this tax as a permanent source of revenue would be impolitic, and would impede the progress of education. These three taxes he thus combined together, because they had been imposed at the same time, and because he judged them all equally subversive of the liberty of the press. It was acknowledged by the chancellor of the exchequer, that, irrespective of any profit they could yield to the revenue, these taxes had indeed been imposed at first to prevent free discussion, but as the necessity no longer existed, government in due time would provide for their removal. But in the meantime, he deprecated such a step, until substitutes were provided for the £1,400,000 which they added to the revenue. He thought the march of economy was already going too fast. During the eight weeks he had been in office, propositions had been made in that house for the repeal of duties to the amount of £7,000,000. The first of the proposed resolutions was carried against the government by a majority of 200 to 169, the other two were negatived. On the first resolution going into committee, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the advertisement duty be reduced to 6*d.*; upon which Mr. Milner Gibson moved as an amendment, that "All duties now chargeable on advertisements be repealed, in accordance with

a resolution of this house on the 14th of April last." The amendment was negatived by 109 to 99, and the original resolution by 68 against 63. Mr. Crawford in the course of debate, moved that a cypher (0) should be substituted for 67, and in this odd and novel fashion the resolution was carried. Mr. Hume, whose ideas of financial etiquette it grievously startled, asked if the committee was justified in thus substituting 0 for 6, but was assured by the speaker that it was perfectly correct.

Along with the late portentous growth and boldness of Popery in England, the establishment of convents, so alien to every principle of British liberty, had excited the popular alarm. There were already seventy-five Roman Catholic nunneries in England and Wales, which were regarded as strongholds of Antichrist, places of illegal imprisonment, or an *imperium in imperio*, according to the mood of the onlooker; and from a certain individual case—that of Miss Talbot—which had been brought before parliament, a strong suspicion had arisen in the public mind, that these conventual seclusions had taken the place of the former mad-houses, in which people were immured unjustly, and against their will. It was necessary that the question should be set to rest; and, accordingly, on the 10th of May, Mr. Thomas Chambers moved for leave in the House of Commons to bring in a bill to facilitate the recovery of personal liberty in certain cases. In a calm speech he went over those reasons which showed that the general suspicion was by no means groundless. The inmates of these establishments, he observed, being subjected to an irresponsible power exercised in secret, were less under the protection of the law than factory children, parish apprentices, or lunatics. These institutions, also, were so affiliated with others abroad, that any inmate of an English convent might be transported beyond sea, by which all means of tracing her could be eluded. He therefore proposed that where any case of undue coercion was reasonably surmised, the secretary of state should be empowered to appoint one or more persons to repair, with a justice of the peace, to the convent, see the party, ascertain the facts, and, if necessary, put the ordinary law in force by a writ of *habeas corpus*. These statements, of course, were denied and ridiculed by the other party as atrocious libels, and Exeter Hall alarms. No convent, it was declared, could exist under such inspection, and therefore the proposal was tantamount to the question, whether convents should exist at all in this country? It was also alleged that the nuns were not prevented from seeing their friends; that conventual establishments were useful as dispensers of good education; and that if this proposal were passed, the

Irish Roman Catholic females would throw themselves upon the protection of France. The motion, however, was carried by 138 to 115. The second reading was moved on the 22d of June by Sir Robert Inglis, but after much clamour and confusion was negatived by 207 to 178.

On the 31st of May, this attack upon the convents was retaliated by a counter-movement against the Protestant and Established Church of Ireland. This was commenced by a motion of Mr. George Henry Moore for a select committee to inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, in order to ascertain how far they are made applicable to the benefit of the Irish people. He complained that these revenues, although set apart for the education of the people and the maintenance of religion, had been diverted from that purpose to the benefit of the Protestants, who were but as one to five in the population of Ireland. But the policy of England was even more evil in principle, he asserted, than destructive in practice; for it contained the evils both of the voluntary and the endowment principles—endowing the religion of the rich, and handing over the religion of the poor to the voluntary principle. The motion was regarded as a proposal for the total destruction of the Church of Ireland, and was met accordingly by appeals to the act of union, the oaths of the members of parliament, and the national faith, which were all at stake in the preservation of Irish Protestantism. The opposite measure which had been dealt to Scotland, in the full establishment and endowment of her Presbyterianism, while there Episcopacy was left to its shifts, an argument of which the supporters of the motion had made a very adroit use, was answered by Lord John Russell. After adverting to the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy were under the direction of a foreign head, and aimed at a political power at variance with a due attachment to the crown of this country, the general cause of liberty, and the duties of a faithful subject, he said:—"I am convinced that if the Roman Catholic clergy had increased power given to them, and if they, as ecclesiastics, were to exercise greater control and greater political influence than they do now, that power would not be exercised in accordance with the general freedom that prevails in this country; and that neither in respect to political power nor upon other subjects would they favour that general freedom of discussion, and that activity and energy of the human mind, which belong to the spirit of the constitution of this country. I do not think that in that respect they are upon a par with the Presbyterians of Scotland. The Presbyterians of Scotland, the Wesleyans of this country, and the Established church of this country and of Scotland, all, no doubt, exercise a certain

influence over their congregations; but that influence which they thus exercise over their congregations must be compatible with a certain freedom of the mind—must be compatible with a certain spirit of inquiry, which the ministers of these churches do not dare to overstep, and if they did overstep it, that influence would be destroyed. I am obliged, then, to conclude—most unwillingly to conclude, but most decidedly—that the endowment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, in the place of the endowment of the Protestant church in that country, in connection with the state, is not an object which the parliament of this country ought to adopt or to sanction.” This was speaking boldly out, and the sentiments thus decidedly expressed were loudly cheered by the ministerial party. In full proportion, however, was the resentment they kindled in the opponents of the Irish church establishment; so that Mr. Keogh, the solicitor-general of Ireland, and Messrs. Monsell and Sadleir resigned their offices, but were soon after induced to resume them. As for the motion itself, it was rejected by the large majority of 240 against 98, and the Irish Protestant church seemed more firmly established than ever.

In the meantime, the affairs of the church at home were not overlooked, so that on the 26th of May, Dr. R. Phillimore moved for leave in the House of Commons to bring in a bill to alter and amend the laws of church-rates. By the law, as it now stood, it was made the bounden duty of every parishioner to contribute to the repair of the fabric of the parish church, and it could be enforced even by a minority of the rate-payers. He proposed, on the other hand, that all dissenters should be exempted from the payment of church-rates, by the simple process of stating in writing that they are dissenters from the Church of England, and handing that statement to the churchwardens. He also proposed that all persons thus exempted should have no right to compel any clergyman to perform any religious service over him or in his behalf, and that he should have no place in church-vestries, or a right to church-votes. With regard to churchmen, he proposed that the law should remain as it was, except that in the consistorial court decisions should be given summarily *visâ voce*, and that they should be appealed from only on a point of law. In anticipation of this movement, an amendment, which was in readiness, was moved by Sir W. Clay, that “this house do resolve itself into a committee, to consider whether church-rates should not be abolished, and provisions made for the charges to which such rates are at present applicable, from pew-rents, and from the increased value which inquiries instituted by authority of the crown have shown may be derived under

better management from church lands and property.” Both of these propositions were considered objectionable. Without church-rates, it was alleged, the principle of a religious establishment could not be maintained, nor the nationality of the church prevented from dwindling into sectarianism; while with regard to the objections of conscientious dissenters to contribute to the church-rates, they had purchased their property subject to these imposts, and fully aware that it was thus encumbered. Both were therefore negatived—the amendment by 207 to 185, and the original motion by 220 to 172.

In the measures of law reform brought forward this session, was one which had been introduced into parliament nine times within twenty-three years, and as often had failed. In 1851 it had been carried unanimously in the House of Lords, but was dropped by the change of government. This unlucky measure, called the registration of assurances bill, was now brought before the lords on the 3d of March by the lord-chancellor for a second reading, and its object was the registration of titles and of incumbrances, the register being full proof of all the facts stated therein; and no claims to be recognized against the purchaser unless thus registered. A plan so hostile to the “glorious uncertainty” of the law had hitherto found its chief antagonists in the solicitors. It now had for its chief advocates Lords John Campbell, Beaumont, and Brougham, and it was passed through the second and third readings, but did not become law, being subsequently withdrawn in the House of Commons.

The second reading of the charitable trusts bill was next moved in the lords on the 3d of May by the lord-chancellor, after a pause since 1851, during which several changes had been made in it. It was proposed that a board of superintendence, composed of the lord-president of the council, some other cabinet minister who should also be a member of the House of Commons, and two legal gentlemen of high attainments, should, as a branch of the government, superintend all the charities of the kingdom—and the multifarious duties of their high office were also specified with full legal precision. It passed the upper house; and in coming before the commons, Lord John Russell stated before the bill went into committee, a few alterations which had occurred in the course of previous discussions. These he now proposed, and the most important of them related to Roman Catholic charities, the placing of which under the management of that body without special provisions might affect their very existence. He therefore proposed their exclusion from the bill, but a separate provision to be made for them; and the exemption itself to be limited to the space of two years. He made this

proposal at the last hour, because he feared that the bill itself might be injurious to Roman Catholics in respect to their trusts; and he had been informed by a Roman Catholic barrister that many of their charities were void in law. His lordship's proposal was carried in the committee by eighty-seven to seventy-six, and after several new clauses added to the bill, it passed the third reading on the 8th of August, and soon after became law.

As Australia now repudiated the indignity of being a convict colony, and was too strong and wealthy to be threatened into obedience, the question of transportation and the disposal of our criminals had become one of the difficult political problems of the day. It was urgent also for an immediate solution, and was accordingly brought before the House of Lords on the 10th of May. The first motion on this subject, which was made by Earl Grey, and which still contemplated the idea of transportation being available for the uses of government as a means of punishment and riddance, was negatived, and a bill introduced for altering the punishment of transportation on the 11th of July by the lord-chancellor. In consequence of the growing repugnance to convict labour through all our colonies, Western Australia was the only one still willing to tolerate the infliction of penal servitude. In this case, consideration was called to the number of criminals that might still be transported, and the crimes that were to be so punished. It was proposed, therefore, that a fourteen years' sentence should be the standard for the expatriated, and this only in the case of flagrant offenders; while of the remainder, those who should have been sentenced to seven years, were to be kept in penal servitude for four, those for ten years, to undergo a home bondage for six, &c. These secondary punishments, in lieu of transportation, were deplored as a grievous necessity, and it was anxiously asked if there was not still some odd nook in the vast Australian continent into which our ship-loads of crime might be conveniently emptied. None, however, could be discovered, and from sheer necessity the bill was passed a second and third time through the House of Lords. It was brought into the House of Commons in committee on the 9th of August, by Lord Palmerston, who advocated the proposed secondary punishment system as the only alternative that remained for us. He explained that after the specified number of years of home servitude had expired, the convict should obtain a ticket-of-leave that would return him to society, but liable to be revoked. Here a grave question must arise: How were these enfranchised convicts to be employed? His lordship stated that means would be found of giving them employment upon the public works apart from the convicts, at suitable wages, from which

occupation, without a stigma, they might glide into the ordinary avocations of honest industry. The charge of providing this additional accommodation would indeed be borne by the public; but this expense would be more than compensated by the annual saving of the former expenditure of transportation. Such were the palliatives of that most unwelcome ticket-of-leave system, without which no other remedy could be devised. The bill, therefore, met with no further opposition, and was passed through committee. On the order for the third reading, a puzzling question was put by Mr. Keating. The ticket-of-leave man would be *quasi* a free man, and capable of contracting obligations; and yet, he would be in the anomalous position of one liable to have his liberty abridged at the will of the secretary of state. Here we should have a new class of persons introduced into society. To this, it was answered by Lord Palmerston, that the difficulty had already been foreseen, and easily surmounted. The element of hope was to be kept alive in the heart of the convict, while the liability of having his ticket-of-leave recalled, would teach him habits of self-control, and prevent him from lapsing into crime. The bill passed through all its readings, and became law.

The affairs of India every year becoming more important, as well as more complex and difficult, were introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood on the 3d of June. In a speech that lasted five hours (for long speeches had now become too much the order of the day), he went over the history of India for the last twenty years, and showed the evils of its government that still brooded unredressed over the large mass of our eastern kingdoms and principalities. These evils he comprised under three heads—viz., the maladministration of justice, the want of public works, and the tenures of lands. Much had been already accomplished for India; but still it did not follow that it possessed the best government that could be devised. As for that which now existed, it might be regarded under two different aspects—the home government and that of India; and the question which he brought forward was, whether this rule should continue in its double character, or be reduced to a single rule administered by a secretary of state. The ministerial measure which he proposed was to continue it in the latter character, but to abridge the patronage of the court of directors. Their power of nomination to office was to be extinguished, so that civil and scientific appointments should depend upon merit alone. Having entered into ample detail of the contemplated changes by which the first head of his proposal—the administration of justice—was to be better adjusted, and which formed the chief subject of

his speech, he alluded to the others, but chiefly for the purpose of showing how much in these departments had been done already, and how reasonably we might be satisfied with its amount.

The debate, which was adjourned to the 6th of June, was resumed by Mr. J. Phillimore, who made a fierce attack on the apologetic speech of Sir Charles Wood, and declared that our government in India could only be paralleled in the descriptions of that of Sicily under Verres in the orations of Cicero; and he condemned the power still left with the court of directors as being by far too great. In the course of debate, heavy complaints were made of the loose statements that were brought forward respecting India by those who had gleaned their information from old newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines, when all they required was but a little industry and application to explore fifty-three large folio volumes in which Indian proceedings were registered. Another adjournment of the debate to the 9th of June followed; and in the course of discussion, where so many personal feelings were at stake, our Indian government was alternately praised and reviled, and a change as keenly deprecated as it was earnestly urged. In speaking upon the subject, which he could in some measure do from personal experience, in consequence of his early residence in India, Mr. Joseph Hume protested against the bill as premature and unstatesmanlike, and that ought to be opposed at every stage. "No wise man," he exclaimed, "would propose such a measure; and if it be, as I believe it is, a mad act, then it is the act of a madman." This logical *sequitur* was received with peals of laughter, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

To enter into the debates that followed would far exceed our limits. There were so many opposite statements, so many assertions and contradictions, so many amendments and counter-amendments, that the head becomes giddy in their whirl; nothing, indeed, but a residence in India, or a deep personal interest in its bank-stock or snug appointments, could induce general readers to wade through the whole subject, or furnish them with a key to understand it. The gist of the matter was thus given by Mr. Macaulay:—He said he should vote for the second reading of the bill. . . . What the country had a right to expect from the government was, not a bill that should make such a reform as would render all future reforms superfluous, but a bill that would introduce present improvements, and leave a scope for further improvements when required; and such a bill was that under discussion. All acknowledged that, in some shape or other, a double government was

most suitable for India; and he thought that the changes proposed in the machinery at home—which absorbed too much attention—would impart to it a greater amount of vigour and ability. But India must be governed in India; whatever might be the instructions from home, the local authorities must exercise a discretion. As to patronage, if the governor-general were allowed to nominate the civil servants, the most monstrous age of jobbing the world had ever seen would commence. And because the plan proposed by the bill (he continued) would fill the service with fit and superior men by the plan of competition, he was earnestly desirous it should pass without delay. Alluding to the opportunity it also gave of admitting such natives into office as could successfully compete with European candidates, he thus concluded with the exposure of a fallacy that had too long prevailed among our statesmen: "We shall not secure or prolong our dominion in India by attempting to exclude the natives of that country from a share in its government, or by attempting to discourage their study of western learning; and I will only say further, that however that may be, I will never consent to keep them ignorant in order to keep them manageable, or to govern them in ignorance in order to govern them long."

On the 28th of July, the bill, after having undergone several amendments, was brought before the house for the third reading. On this occasion an important debate originated in a motion of Sir J. Pakington, for a clause prohibiting the manufacture of salt by the East India Company from and after the 1st of May, 1856, and providing that the manufacture and sale of that article in India should be absolutely free, subject only to such excise or other duties as might then, or from time to time, be levied upon it. This article, it was stated, so important a necessary of life in other countries, was essentially so in India, as the chief food of the natives consisted of rice; but as matters now stood, the Hindoo had scarcely half the quantity of salt used by an European; that it was an inferior article, mixed with sand, dirt, and ashes, and cost one-sixth of the consumer's time and labour to get money to purchase it. This important motion, after an earnest debate, was carried against the government by 117 to 107. Several other amendments were also agreed to, and the bill was finally passed amidst the loud cheering of the ministerial party. In the lords, the bill also passed through the usual stages without alteration, except in the case of Sir J. Pakington's salt clause, which was struck out. In this form the bill was agreed to by the House of Commons, and afterwards became law.

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1853—1854.

VICTORIA.

Apprehensions of war from the aggressions of Russia in the East—Affairs in India—A fresh war commenced with the Burmese—Capture of Martaban by the British—Difficulties of the campaign—Rangoon unsuccessfully assailed by the British—They capture Prome—Their successful expedition against Pegu—The province of Pegu annexed to the British empire—Defeat of Mea-Toon, the Dacoit chief—Discontent of the natives of South Africa with the British government—Sir Harry Smith sent as governor to the Cape of Good Hope—His proceedings on assuming the government—His address to the Caffre chiefs—Commencement of war—Defeat of the British by the Caffres at Keiskamma—Unfavourable and destructive character of the war—The Caffres solicit peace—Terms on which it is granted—Shipwreck of the *Birkenhead* steamer on its way to the Caffre war—Fresh European war originating from Russia—Early designs of Russia on Turkey—Ground of quarrel in the claim of Russia to the guardianship of the holy sepulchre—Counter-claim of France—Inability of the Turkish sultan to satisfy the claimants—Hostile movements on the part of Russia and France—Unreasonable demands of Russia on the Porte—War commenced by Russia against Turkey—Unsuccessful attempt of the great powers to reconcile them—Turkish declaration of war against Russia—Interests of Britain in the quarrel—Discussions on the subject in the House of Lords—Precautions of the ministry to avoid hostilities and preserve peace—Lord John Russell's statement of the whole history of the controversy—Military preparations—Naval coast volunteers bill brought into parliament—Its terms—It is passed—Opening of parliament in January, 1854—General impatience for war—Discussion in the lords upon our long forbearance and the backwardness of ministers—Hume's approval of our expenditure for warlike operations—Question in parliament on the propriety of aiding Mahomedan Turkey against Christian Russia—The subject explained and justified in the House of Lords—The combined fleets of Britain and France move forward to protect Constantinople—Movements of the Russian and Turkish armies—Early successes of the Turks—Attempts of the conference at Vienna to mediate—Russia rejects the mediation—Attack of the Russian upon the Turkish fleet at Sinope—The Turks overpowered and massacred—Indignation excited by the affair at Sinope—Letter of the Emperor Napoleon on the subject—The Emperor of Russia's justification of his proceedings—Proclamation of war against Russia by France—Similar proclamation of the British government.



MIDST those great measures affecting the internal welfare of the country with which the British parliament was employed during a session of unwonted stir and occupation, one subject of apprehension not only overclouded the members, but the public mind at large. It was, that the forty years of international peace which Europe had enjoyed—an unprecedented duration in the history of the world—was drawing to a close at last; and that, true to their nature, men would resume their spirit of rivalry and contention, and war be renewed with a vigour all the more intense in consequence of so long a repose. These apprehensions arose from the East, where the movements of Russia seemed but the prelude of a fresh northern inundation by which Europe would ultimately be desolated, and compelled to commence her career anew. The demand on the part of the czar for the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey, and subsequently his hostile advance upon the Turkish provinces to substantiate his claim, were each and all made the subject of parliamentary inquiry and discussion. Many, indeed, persevered in hoping to the last that peace would be maintained, and therefore the walls of both houses echoed repeatedly to

the assurance that there was no danger; many declared that Russia would stop short in her aggressions upon the worn-out Porte at the first note of an European remonstrance. But the czar persisted in spite of remonstrance; and Britain, from a friendly mediator, soon found herself converted into a principal in a contest as trying as any she has ever yet waged for her own personal liberties. This change, however, comes more properly under the history of the following year, from which the conflict dates its actual commencement.

It was perhaps as well for Britain, when such a war broke out so unexpectedly, that recent military events in the colonies had trained and furnished her for a conflict nearer home; and that these colonial campaigns having served such a purpose, had now been happily terminated, so that she might avail herself of her full resources.

The chief of these disturbances was a second Burmese war. The humiliation which Burmah had sustained in her first trial of strength with the Anglo-Indian government had lasted its day; and the treaty of Yandaboo, by which she engaged to respect British rights and property, was becoming a dead letter. This was evident from the oppressions exercised by the native government upon our merchants at Rangoon, as well

as upon the British vessels that entered the port. On complaints of these injuries being transmitted to the governor-general, Commodore Lambert, with a war ship and two steamers, was sent to demand reparation; but although this was apparently given by displacing the offending governor of Rangoon and appointing a successor, the conduct of the new ruler to the British commodore was so unsatisfactory and insulting, that the latter proclaimed the mouths of the river in a state of blockade. This provoked shots from a Burmese battery, which, however, was quickly silenced; and on negotiations being renewed, the King of Ava refused the demands made upon him, which were, an apology for the insults offered to the British messengers, compensation to the merchants for their losses, and an accredited agent of the British government to be permitted to reside at Rangoon, according to the terms of the treaty of Yandaboo. Harder terms were to be enforced by the cannon; and an armament of troops from the presidencies of Bengal and Madras under the command of Major-general Godwin, a veteran of the first Burmese war, were sent to Rangoon, who reached the mouth of the Irrawadi river, on which that city stands, on the 2d of April, 1852. As the Madras division had not yet arrived, General Godwin resolved to commence with the siege of Martaban; and on the 5th a tremendous cannonade was opened upon the town from the British ships, the troops were landed under its cover, and in a few minutes the walls, though defended by 5000 men, were scaled with but a trivial loss to the captors.

An eastern campaign had commenced once more in earnest, and one where the invaders had not merely to contend with want of roads and means for the transport of artillery, with thick jungles, a hot tropical sun, and long periods of incessant rain, but an intelligent, brave, high-spirited enemy, fully aware of British superiority, and yet ready to risk the encounter. On these accounts the progress of our troops, notwithstanding their bravery and the skill of their old commander, was so slow and precarious, that not a little discontent was expressed at headquarters. On the 11th, the attack on Rangoon was commenced from the shipping; but although the whole line of defences on the side of the river was destroyed, the fire of the Burmese in-

flicted a severe requital upon our sailors and marines. Matters were not greatly amended when the troops were landed; for they had not moved far when, to their astonishment, the enemy, in-



TEMPORARY STOCKADE, MARTABAN.—From a sketch by an Officer of the Indian Army.

stead of ensconcing themselves behind their stockades as they had been wont, poured their skirmishers through the jungle upon the British flanks; and having become good shots, they rapidly picked off our men, whose dress exposed them to notice, while their own was obscured by the brushwood. The stockade from which these skirmishers issued was at length stormed, although with severe loss; but on advancing to Rangoon, our troops experienced a very different defence from that they had encountered at Martaban; and although, on the 27th of July, the governor-general himself, impatient at the length of the siege, arrived at Rangoon, hoping that his presence would accelerate the capture, the city still continued to hold out. The only counterpoise to this unsatisfactory progress was the capture of Prome, for which service a besieging force from the main army was embarked on the 25th of September. On the 10th of October the Burmese abandoned its defence, "leaving in our possession (writes General Godwin in his despatch) an entirely evacuated town overrun with thick and rank vegetation, and, I regret to add, abounding in swamps."

This was but a poor recompense for so much labour and loss; but in November, a successful expedition against Pegu was attended with more profitable results. The Burmese having taken forcible possession of the city against the will of the inhabitants, the British commander resolved to dislodge them; and for this purpose a flotilla under his command cast anchor, on the 20th, about two miles below Pegu. The landing was

made, the attack was commenced in gallant style, and 1000 British assailants succeeded in completely driving out the Burmese, who mustered from 4000 to 5000 men, strongly entrenched behind their ramparts. After the British force had been withdrawn, the Burmese endeavoured to recover the city, which necessitated the return of the captors; and on this occasion, after a single attack, the enemy, although very numerous and strongly posted, fled in all directions, and abandoned their purpose. The whole province of Pegu was thenceforth annexed, by a proclamation of the governor-general, to the British dominions in India.

After the capture of Prome and the annexation of Pegu, the war with Burmah may be said to have been closed. But the victors had still the task of suppressing those Dacoit chiefs who had appeared on the field during the disturbed state of the kingdom, and who plundered friend and enemy alike. The most conspicuous of these marauding chiefs, called Mea-Toon, was first assailed in his stronghold, about fifteen miles inland from Donnabew; but the small force of British who were sent on this expedition were repulsed with considerable loss. A still larger was then sent, consisting of sailors and marines and 350 sepoys; but they, too, fared as their predecessors had done, being utterly defeated, with the loss of their principal officers. As such an enemy could not be despised, that course was

King of Ava having agreed to those concessions which the governor-general demanded.

During this Burmese war, the British arms had been employed against an enemy in South Africa of a still more formidable description, as far as personal bulk, strength, and endurance were concerned, than the warriors of the East. These were the Caffres of the Cape of Good Hope, whose limits had been successively lessened by the increase of the British colonists, and by their own unsuccessful aggressions when the formidable growth of the settlement had provoked them into open warfare. Their boundary for many years had been the Great Fish River, but this had been afterwards carried backward to the river Kei, while the territory between it and the former limit, under the name of British Caffraria, but considered as a neutral ground, became a bone of contention between the Caffres and the colonists. These hostile demonstrations on the part of the former had become so formidable, that a governor of military talents was judged necessary for the Cape; and in 1850, Sir Harry Smith, the hero of Aliwal, was appointed to this office. One of his first proceedings was to repair to King William's Town, in the centre of British Caffraria, and summon a meeting of the Caffre chiefs, who repaired to him at the call. But Sandilli, the principal of these not only in power but in talent—a sort of Caffre Machiavelli, who, though young and lame, was re-

garded as an oracle by his countrymen—refused to comply with the summons. At this singular meeting, the proceedings of Sir Harry, if the colonial journals may be believed, were sufficiently *outré*. He carried a long stick surmounted by a brass knob, called the stick of peace, with which he illustrated his oratory, while his speech was a singular medley of Caffre and oriental eloquence. He railed at the chiefs for being such fools as to believe in a fool (Sandilli)—a boy-prophet, who “was all over grease, and as black as a coal.” Then flourishing his staff of peace, he exclaimed, “If you are not happy and want war, I will make war, and bring my troops from Cape Town in four days, as I came myself; and I will drive you all over the Kei, and get Krili to drive you to the Umzimvoobo, and I will be there too—I was there once; you know it—and then get Faku to drive you farther; and then you will be scattered over the earth, as beasts of the field and vagabonds.

But the good I will protect and assist, and be their father. I will kill every one that will not fight on my side. There is a God above; he knows all things.” This speech, which might have produced marvellous effects upon a Hindoo audience, was utterly thrown away upon these stalwart



CAFFRE CHIEF OF THE ZULU TRIBE.
From Angas' Illustrations of the Caffres.

finally taken which should have been adopted at first; a large detachment, numbering about 1300, under the command of Sir John Cheape, was sent against the marauder, who was driven from his defences after a gallant resistance. On the defeat of Mea-Toon hostilities ceased, the

and cunning Caffres, who, while they listened with demure countenances, were no doubt laughing in the folds of their karosses at the governor's speech, so unlike the addresses of all former British rulers. They however shook hands with him in token of obedience, and then returned to their homes to mature the intended insurrection.

The train thus laid was kindled by the deposition of Sandilli; and Sir Harry had scarcely reached the seat of government when he was obliged once more to hurry to King William's Town. Finding that the Caffre chiefs would not undertake to capture Sandilli, the governor resolved to accomplish the feat by a surprisal; and for this purpose Colonel Mackinnon was sent from Fort Cox, on the 24th of December, 1850, at the head of 600 men. With this formidable force

the colonel proceeded up the valley of the Keiskamma, and through rugged defiles, until he entered a narrow rocky gorge, that seemed expressly made for the destruction of an invader; while his guides and advanced guard were ninety-two of the Caffre police armed and trained in British fashion, and whose fidelity under such tempting circumstances was implicitly trusted. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, when the British infantry had fully entered within the gorge, that an unexpected volley from an ambushed enemy came down thick upon them, and with deadly effect. To retreat in such a case was destruction, and the troops rushed forward under this dangerous fire until they cleared the gorge, and reached a missionary station three miles distant. Here, however, they were not safe, as the whole country round was in a state of insurrection; and Colonel Mackinnon was obliged to commence his retreat to Fort Cox by a circuitous route. But there also Sir Harry Smith himself was shut up without means of egress, the fort being closely blockaded by thousands of armed Caffres; and when Colonel Somerset advanced from Fort Hare to his relief, his troops were defeated and driven back by the Caffres, who now fought with muskets as well as assegais, and could wage a close hand-to-hand encounter with British soldiers as well as one of missiles. In this manner the war went on during the following year, with a succession of desperate skirmishes, by which our troops were thinned

and exhausted, whatever party prevailed; while the work of massacre, conflagration, and plunder, which the Caffre tribes carried on with equal cunning and daring, swept the whole range of



CAFFRES ATTACKING INFANTRY IN KEISKAMMA GORGE.
From the Illustrated London News, 1851.

frontier, and drove the British settlers across the boundary rivers, and into the settlements below, although these were scarcely places of safety any longer. To deepen the confusion, large bodies of Hottentots, under the leading of some deserters from the Cape corps, forsook their old allegiance to the British government, and made common cause with the now successful Caffres. In September, the following summary, published in a Cape journal, gives a melancholy account of the nature and effects of this war:—

"The ravages of the enemy continue to be most distressing. Having dispersed themselves over an intra-colonial zone, of a breadth varying from thirty to eighty miles, very little of farm stock or produce has escaped destruction. Beginning at Turka, where the Cradock district approaches British Caffraria, we may enumerate the various places as we proceed southward, by Somerset, Uitenhage, and eastward through Albany, till we arrive at Victoria, adjoining the posts maintained by his excellency in Caffraria; and everywhere the same melancholy tale of woe has to be repeated. Flocks carried off, homesteads burned to ashes, the most vigilant of the colonists barely escaping with their lives, the incautions everywhere shot down by parties in ambush—are, we regret to say, the general features of the narrative."

In this manner, a desultory but most harassing warfare of skirmishes and surprises was continued throughout the following year (1852), by

which not only the present prosperity of the Cape of Good Hope as a British colony was sorely diminished, but our future tenure made a matter of doubt and misgiving. We might slay the Caffres in hundreds, but when they requited the loss by tens or fives of British troops who perished in the struggle, the advantage was clearly on the side of the savages, whose numbers would have wasted us out in such a protracted campaigning. Besides, it was evident that the longer the contest was continued the enemy was daily becoming more skilful and daring, and therefore the better fitted for future resistance, even though the present insurrection should be put down. These considerations weighed with the reflective, and induced a desire for the pacification of South Africa, a measure which could now be accomplished with honour, in consequence of the able and successful administration of General Cathcart, who had succeeded Sir Harry Smith as governor and commander-in-chief. The overture came from Sandilli himself, the prime mover and chief support of the Caffre rebellion, who now humbly sued for peace and pardon, declaring that he had "no more strength to fight the English," that he had been driven from his country, and that he had complied with the governor's command by re-crossing the Kei. He now particularly wished to know what district would be assigned for the occupation of himself and his people. As the Amatolas and other districts formerly occupied by the principal insurgents were declared forfeited to the crown, it was necessary to drive Sandilli and his people farther back into the interior; and the country between the Kei and the great north road leading to the Windvogelberg, and bounded on the north by the Thomas river, and the south by the country of the chief Umhala, was assigned to him; this grace, however, was fettered by the conditions that he should surrender the muskets he had taken from the British, remain in allegiance to the Queen of England, and not trespass within the Amatolas, on pain of being dealt with by martial law. These hard terms were reluctantly accepted, and Sandilli and his numerous tribe retired to their new home, about 200 miles to the north of the old. How long this peace will continue, or under what plea or pretext it will be broken, no one can foresee; but that it will not long endure, seems an absolute certainty. A fearless, high-spirited, pastoral people like the Caffres, cannot be content with such narrow limits in the territory that was once their own, and even already they manifest rebellious symptoms, that only wait a fit opportunity for the outbreak. Should this occur, a fresh Caffre war will more than renew the difficulties and dangers of our South African colonists.

In a war that was otherwise so trivial and uneventful, one instance of heroism occurred which even the proud ages of chivalry could not parallel. It was exhibited in the shipwreck of the *Birkenhead*, a government iron steamer, on the 26th of February, 1852. This vessel was conveying detachments from several of our regiments to the seat of war, under Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Seton, of the 74th regiment of Highlanders (who had succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel Fordyce), and had proceeded on her voyage from Simon's Bay, when she suddenly struck upon a sunken rock near the shore, off Point Danger. The shock was so tremendous that the iron plates of the ship's bottom gave way, the cabin was quickly filled with water, and it was evident that in a few minutes more the vessel would be engulfed among the breakers. It was as yet only two o'clock in the morning, with no light but that of the stars; but in an instant the deck was crowded with the alarmed passengers, and, while death was imminent, only two of the ship's boats were available for service. To rush into the boats, at the risk of swamping them, would have been the impulse of the selfish; to fling themselves into the sea, in the hope of reaching the shore, but only to sink each other by their overcrowding, or perish among the breakers, and by the sharks that were on the alert, would have been the headlong attempt even of the bravest. But nothing of the kind in either way was done; and never was the power of military discipline, or the worth of fearless, unflinching courage, or the moral grandeur of self-sacrificing devotedness more conspicuously displayed than in this moment of terrible trial. At the word of Colonel Seton the soldiers drew up upon the reeling and loosening deck as if they had been upon parade; they obeyed his orders as calmly as if they had been executing the usual movements of the drill. The brave humane heart of the colonel was first directed to the safety of those who could least help themselves, and whose fate would otherwise have been certain—to the women, the children, and the sick on board—and they were carefully conveyed into the boats, which, in the first instance, were given up for their especial service; and, by this arrangement, all the helpless were saved without a single exception. And now only were the strong and vigorous to look to their own safety, after they had so nobly discharged their duty to others; and while several betook themselves to swimming, or committed themselves to pieces of floating timber, the vessel parted amid-ships, and went down with the greater part of the officers and soldiers, with whom self-preservation had been only the latest subject of anxiety. In this fatal catastrophe 357 officers and soldiers, and

60 seamen perished, while nearly 200 lives were saved—and this, too, in a crisis where, but for these arrangements, and the fidelity with which they were executed, nearly all might have been lost. These soldiers, also, be it observed, were not veterans, but for the most part young recruits, who had never been under fire; and yet they calmly stood in a breach more dismaying than that of Badajoz or St. Sebastian, and saw the boats, their last hope of safety, depart from them without a murmur. But what shall we say of the controlling might of that noble leader who directed their movements, and whom, even to the death, they were proud to obey? It was his last as well as his first field of action, if such it might be termed; but the event which bereaved the service of such an officer showed how much it had lost, and what a name he might have achieved for himself in the annals of modern warfare. We have been thus particular in the catastrophe of the *Birkenhead*, as it was a unique specimen of heroism, in which the coolest courage and intrepid daring were combined with the purest humanity and disinterestedness; and as such, it roused the emulation of our soldiers, and was the parent of similar achievements in the subsequent campaigns of the Crimea and India. As long as the British army nurses such a spirit as that which was shown upon the deck of the *Birkenhead*, and possesses such officers as Colonel Seton, our country, let the enemy be who they may, has nothing to fear.¹

We now turn our record to that momentous European war in which we were subsequently involved. In this case it came, not from France, whose revolutionary spirit in 1848 had filled us with apprehension, and against whose anticipated attacks we had been carefully arming, but from Russia, a country with which we had lived in friendship, and whose growing power we had fostered as a counterpoise to that of France. Little did our politicians foresee, even till the last hour, how diligently they would toil to undo their own work, and how cordially France and England would unite their banners in a common cause. But a new era in the history of human progress seems to have commenced, and to proceed by steps upon which the statesmanship de-

rived from the experience of the past is unable to calculate.

Since the days of Peter the Great, Russia had never ceased to turn a covetous eye towards Turkey: the possession of that country seemed to her nothing more than her birthright, as she was the great metropolitan head and representative of the Greek church; and, from the gradual decay of the Turkish power, it was thought only a question of time for the Russian dominion to be established upon the banks of the Hellespont, and the cross replaced upon the dome of Santa Sophia. When the opportunity had arrived, a cause of quarrel was not difficult to find; and Russia established her claim upon monks, relics, and shrines. Such pretensions are strange to the politicians of the nineteenth century; but the cause of quarrel was precisely fitted to the semi-barbarism of the Russian intellect, while it imparted to such an unjust aggression the sanctions of a holy war.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, the guardianship of the holy places in Palestine had been a ground of contention between the Greek and Latin churches, the former represented by the Czars of Russia, and the latter by the sovereigns of France. Independently of anything like religious feeling, a point of honour was at issue, in which neither party would yield to his rival; and, to complicate this singular debate, which was waged with a full amount of the *odium theologicum*, the umpire of the quarrel was necessarily a Mahometan—even the Sultan of Turkey, and august representative of the caliphs, in whose territories the places in question were situated, and without whose imperial *hatti-scheriff*, or imperial ordinance, the decrees of the contending sovereigns could have no effect. In 1850 this controversy had become so keen, especially about the possession of certain nooks and portions of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, that the bewildered Turkish government knew not how to arbitrate, and endeavoured to preach peace to both parties, but in vain. When a joint commission from France and Russia had been unable to decide, the case was transferred to a Turkish special council of state, and the result was a *firman* of the sultan, in March, 1852, by which the different pieces of the church were apportioned among the rivals according to old treaty or tradition. Even this, however, was not enough; for, while a key to the church was granted to both parties, the Greek (or Russian) monks were offended, and claimed the sole possession of this precious key. And thus wrote the Russian ambassador, Count Nesselrode, upon this most momentous decision:—"The efforts of the French embassy have triumphed at Constan-

¹ A mural tablet was lately erected by government at Chelsea Hospital, bearing the following inscription:—"This monument is erected, by command of her Majesty Queen Victoria, to record the heroic constancy and unbroken discipline shown by Lieutenant-colonel Seton, 74th Highlanders, and the troops embarked under his command, on board the *Birkenhead*, when that vessel was wrecked off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 26th of February, 1852, and to preserve the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, who perished on that occasion. Their names were as follows—(here the names of the officers, and the regiments to which the privates belonged, are given); in all, 357 officers and men. The names of the privates will be found on brass plates adjoining."

tinople. Not only has the firman, sanctioned by the sultan's hatti-scheriff, not been executed at Jerusalem, but it has been treated with derision by the sultan's ministers. To the indignation of the whole Greek population, the key of the church of Bethlehem has been made over to the Latins, so as publicly to demonstrate their religious supremacy in the East."

It is sufficiently evident that when the same privilege was conceded to both parties indifferently, no supremacy to either was conceded. But Nesselrode and his court thought differently; and with them less than all was nothing. To enforce the correctness of this conclusion, a Russian force was marched towards the frontier of Moldavia; while, on the other hand, the entrance of a French fleet into the Dardanelles was threatened, unless the Latin monks obtained the possession of the tomb of the Virgin one day exclusively for themselves. While the Turkish government was thus about to be crushed in the collision of two such powers, Prince Menschikoff arrived as Russian ambassador at Constantinople, and, from his arrogant tone, as well as secret proposals, it was evident that his mission aimed at something more than the possession of keys and holy sepulchres. It was nothing less than the full independence of the Greek church in Turkey—the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*, of which his imperial master would necessarily be the sovereign. Such a demand was inadmissible, and rejected accordingly, upon which Menschikoff left Constantinople in high dudgeon. To right itself in the estimation of Europe, which with Turkey was now a matter of some importance, an official note from its government to the different embassies announced the terms that had been proposed, and their decided refusal; and, in full apprehension of the consequences, notwithstanding the pacific assurances of the Emperor of Russia, the note thus concluded:—"Nevertheless, no direct assurance having been given to the Porte to the effect that there will be no war, and preparations going forward on a large scale, in the localities bordering on the Ottoman empire, the Porte, animated by no hostile intention, and as a simple measure of prudence, feels compelled to take measures of self-defence." To remove also every substantial ground of complaint from his Christian subjects, and their fellow-religionists of Europe, the sultan issued a firman at the end of May, 1853, by which the privileges of the Greek church in Turkey, so imperilled by late events as well as old abuses, were ratified and confirmed in the most express terms. Having performed this act of justice, the Turkish government prepared for war, which now seemed to be inevitable.

This event commenced in earnest on the 2d

and 3d of July, 1853, when two divisions of Russian troops crossed the Pruth, under the command of Prince Gortschakoff. In this way the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were occupied by the enemy, and Turkey in self-defence provoked to resistance. In consequence of this Russian movement, a combined English and French fleet were sent to Besika Bay, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, for the purpose of watching those further movements in which both powers had so deep an interest; while, to put a stop to the war at the commencement, the representatives of the four great powers held a conference at Vienna, and drew up terms of agreement, which were submitted to both parties; but, while Russia offered to accede to them, the Turkish government refused, unless some alterations were made in the language in which its provisions were expressed. Although the negotiating powers were offended at the refusal, yet they were soon compelled to acknowledge that the Ottoman Porte was in the right. These terms were therefore modified according to the wish of the latter; but it was now the turn of the czar to reject them, which he accordingly did. It was evident that matters had gone too far to be settled by diplomatic arbitration. Besides, the arbitrators had already committed a diplomatic blunder, by producing a note which required such amendment, and thus affording to both rival parties a loophole of escape.

During this period of mingled negotiation and aggression, a peace party in Turkey, headed by Redschid Pacha, conscious of the now decayed state of their empire, and devout believers in the old prophecy that they were to be finally driven out of Constantinople, and sent back to the interior of Asia, were chiefly anxious to procrastinate the coming of the evil hour, and with this view, they were ready to purchase a continuance of peace, even at the price of submission. But the war party, which was now the popular cause, clamoured for hostilities with a vehemence that threatened to garnish the walls of the seraglio with the heads of all who gainsaid them. "You are now listening," they menacingly exclaimed in the council chamber, where they sought and compelled an audience,—“you are now listening to foreign and infidel ambassadors, who are the enemies of the faith: we are the children of the Prophet; we have an army, and that army cries out with us for war, to avenge the insults which the Giaours have heaped upon us.” Thus it was that the fanaticism of Christian Russia was to be met with the equal fervour of Moslem pride and intolerance, and on both sides the conflict was to be distinguished by the revolting characteristics of a religious warfare. The popular outcry bore down all opposition, and on the 5th of October,

1853, the Ottoman Porte published a formal declaration of war against Russia. In this note the real and political motive of the Russian invasion was stripped of its religious pretensions, and exposed throughout with Turkish brevity and simplicity. "Even supposing," it said, "that Russia had a subject of complaint in relation to the holy places, she ought to have circumscribed her actions and solicitations within the limits of this question alone, and ought not to have raised pretensions which the object of her complaints could not sustain. She ought not, moreover, to have taken measures of intimidation, such as sending her troops to the frontiers, and making naval preparations at Sebastopol, on the subject of a question which might have been settled amicably between the two powers. But it is evident that what has taken place is totally contrary to an intention of amicable settlement."

In the meantime, how had Britain been employed in an event upon which she had so much at stake? On the 25th of April, when the movements of the Emperor of Russia had excited public alarm, and occasioned an anxious inquiry, the Earl of Clarendon assured the lords in the upper house that Turkey had nothing to fear; that the mission of Prince Menschikoff was for the purpose of placing the matter of the holy shrines on a permanent footing; that the naval and military preparations of Russia had been greatly exaggerated; and that our government had full reliance on the pacific declarations of the czar. Finally, he assured the house that in relation to Turkey there was no danger of the peace of Europe being disturbed. On the 27th of May, when the mission of Menschikoff was better understood, and the designs of Russia were more clearly manifested, the question was again brought before both Houses of Parliament. But in reply, Lord Clarendon in the lords alluded to the reserve he must maintain while negotiations were actually pending, stated that Menschikoff's mission was not ended as yet, and declared that the ambassadors of France and England now at the Porte were completely at one in maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, by upholding the independence of the Turkish empire. A similar reply was given in the commons by Lord John Russell. Only three days later, when Menschikoff's hostile departure from Constantinople was known, and when war was almost certain to follow, the question in parliament now was as to the probability of the British fleet reaching the Dardanelles before that of Russia could arrive; and the apprehension of the members was quieted with the assurance that our ships would be at their station two days earlier than the Russian armament.

Events now crowded thick and fast; the elec-

tric wires of the telegraph were kept in incessant action, and the public mind of England in a state of constant excitement. But the march of the Russian troops across the Pruth, and the occupation of the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, with the manifesto of the czar announcing and justifying the measure, seemed to make all further hopes of peace a delusion; and on the 27th of June and 11th of July, ministers were urgently asked if these reports were true, and if government had been officially informed of them. But to these the answers were so vague and unsatisfactory, although the subject was repeatedly brought before both houses, that the general impatience could be restrained no longer, and an attempt was made to break the spell in which the government had enveloped the subject, by a demand for the documents in their possession; but to this stern ultimatum it was answered on the part of the ministers, that the production of these would be detrimental to the public service. As long indeed as the last lingering shadow of a hope of peace remained, every care had been taken to avoid hostilities, either by the production of a diplomatic note or verbal expression of feeling, for it was felt that if hostilities commenced, they would be nothing less than the beginning of a great European war. But in Britain such silence has its limits, and there are emergencies in which the most taciturn reserve in high places is compelled to speak out. A full revelation was therefore made on the 16th of August, in the House of Commons, according to his previous promise, by Lord John Russell. On entering office his attention had been called to the controversy respecting the holy places; and from the starting-point of Menschikoff's embassy, his lordship proceeded to recapitulate the negotiations upon the subject, until both the French and English government had been startled by the czar's new and extravagant demands. This alarm had been increased by the Russian preparations, both naval and military, for the invasion of the Danubian provinces, and therefore the French and British fleets had simultaneously entered the Dardanelles, for the protection of Turkey. Even at this stage, however, every effort had been made to prevent a declaration of war; and for this purpose, the note of Vienna had been drawn up, and subscribed by the four powers. That note had already been accepted by the czar; but even if it should be agreed to by the sultan also, there would still remain the question of the evacuation of the provinces, and unless Russia consented to abandon them, no settlement could be satisfactory. As to the means by which this object is to be obtained, and the mode of operation, these, his lordship said, must be left to our executive government.

As for the French and English fleets in Besika Bay, there they might be allowed to remain, without being considered as an equivalent to the military occupation of the provinces, until peace should be secured, and the Russian troops withdrawn. "I will only say further," he added in conclusion, "that this question of the maintenance of Turkey is one that must always require the attention—and I may say the vigilant attention—of any person holding in his hands the foreign affairs of this country. This, however, can only be secured by a constant union between England and France—by a thorough concert and constant communication between those two great powers." At the close of the long discussion which followed, Lord Palmerston expressed his conviction that Turkey had still within itself the elements of life and prosperity; and he believed that the course adopted by her majesty's government was a sound policy, deserving the approbation of the country, and which it would be the duty of every British government to pursue.

As it was now full time to be intent on military preparation, a government plan connected with this was brought before the House of Commons previous to the close of the session, by Sir James Graham, entitled "the naval coast volunteers bill." It was based upon the voluntary enlistment principle, instead of the compulsion practised in the sea-service, and calculated for the fishermen, bargemen, lightermen, and persons employed in the coasting service, who lived upon our shores. These men, Sir James stated, would not be unwilling in a time of peace to be trained for a short period in each year to the use of great guns—a service for which their nautical habits had in some measure already fitted them. These volunteer marines were to be enlisted on the same terms as were held out to landmen for the militia service, by a bounty of £6, the payment to be extended over such a period as the admiralty might think fit; and their pay while on duty was to be equal to that of an able seaman in the royal navy. Their period of enlistment was not to exceed five years; that of their training was to be twenty-eight days, to be conducted either ashore or afloat; and when at sea, they were not to be taken more than fifty leagues from the coast of Great Britain or Ireland, or one hundred in the case of actual service. Such were the principal features of the bill, by which, in a season of war or invasion, Sir James hoped that 18,000 or 20,000 men could be mustered for the defence of our shores—men in the prime of life, inspired with the national character of British seamen, and trained to the use of arms, who would prove a powerful auxiliary to our advantages of steam navigation. The bill passed without opposition

through both Houses of Parliament. On the 20th of August, the prorogation of parliament was performed by commission, and with the usual ceremonies. After an amount and variety of labour that was altogether unusual, in which 104 bills had passed into law, and only two been rejected, the close was in gloomy anticipations, not only of a deficient harvest over the whole of Europe, but a general war, of which the advancing shadows were at hand.

Under these melancholy auspices, the parliament was opened by her majesty in person on the 30th of January, 1854. In the royal speech much importance was attached to the efforts which government had made for the preservation of peace; but the necessary secrecy with which these had been accompanied, as well as the shifting uncertainty that still continued to attend them, had been productive of no small amount of public impatience and resentment. Since war appeared inevitable, the nation was eager to plunge into it at once, and learn the best or the worst that might follow. And this impatience found ample utterance in the House of Lords, when her majesty's address was under consideration. The Marquis of Clanricarde declared that he was sorry he could not agree in the expressions used in the speech with regard to the efforts of the government to preserve peace. These efforts, it seemed to him, had been so characterized by vacillation and inconsistency, that, in point of fact, neither parliament nor the world knew what the determination of the government really was. Warfare was talked of, but no one knew with whom we were at war. Nay, no one could say whether we were at war or not. But if public rumours were true, we were at war, and if so, why was the government afraid to state the fact? Another point of complaint, his lordship added, was, that no information on the eastern question had been afforded to the public, so that the inhabitants of other and unconstitutional countries were in a better position to form an opinion of the state of affairs than the people of constitutional England. It was impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that all this uncertainty was owing to the difference of opinion on the eastern question which prevailed in the cabinet; the result of which division was, that every step taken in the matter bore evidence of a compromise between the conflicting parties. The character of England had sunk immeasurably among continental nations through the conduct of the government in this affair. The "sneer" went round that we were afraid. This expression by the noble marquis of the popular feeling, called forth on the part of the Earl of Clarendon as full a justification of the ministers in the course of policy they had

hitherto seen fit to pursue. As they were responsible to parliament, they were not called upon to publish their acts before the legislature met, in imitation of those governments who had no parliament to which they owed responsibility. Revelations also might, on certain contingencies, have been inconvenient and damaging to the cause of peace. With regard to the taunt of cowardice which had been thrown out against the administration, this Lord Clarendon indignantly denied. What they had done was under a deep conviction of the value of peace, which they deemed worth any sacrifice except that of national honour. He illustrated this by a minute detail of the diplomatic tergiversations of Russia, through which our ministers, still hoping for a peaceful adjustment, had avoided committing this country to the perils and uncertainties of war, and by this pacific conduct they had placed the Emperor of Russia in an evil position, by making him the cause of aggression and sole author of the war. Moreover, this very delay had been serviceable to the Turks, who had thus obtained much valuable time for completing their warlike preparations; while it would justify the cause to the British public, should our going to war be inevitable. In the course of discussion in the lords, Earl Grey delivered a pertinent remark, which, had it been attended to at the time, and laid up for prompt accomplishment, might have averted much future disappointment and disaster. He was not quite satisfied that we should have interfered at all in the dispute between Russia and Turkey. If, however, as he feared, war was inevitable, it should be carried on with vigour and unanimity, and he trusted to find the defect in the naval and military services which long peace might have fostered, promptly removed, and young and intelligent officers appointed to the command.

The discussions both in the lords and the commons upon the approaching crisis, which every day appeared more inevitable, were both keen and frequent, but at each debate the asperity with which the delay of the ministers had been blamed, became more temperate, until it settled into a general conviction that they could scarcely have acted otherwise than they did; that, in fact, they had acted well and wisely, both for the honour and interests of the country. The strength of this conviction was remarkably manifested on the 22d of February, when the report from the committee of supply, communicating their votes of men and money, was brought before the House of Commons. On this occasion Mr. Joseph Hume, the keenest guardian of the public purse that ever kept watch upon the national treasury, opened the discussion, by observing that this was the first time since he had been in

parliament that he had not taken part in the question of voting the number of men for the public service. He deprecated the manner in which the government, and especially Lord Aberdeen, had been attacked, and expressed it as his opinion, that they had deserved the thanks of the country for having exhausted every effort for the preservation of peace. The official papers, he declared, as far as they went, showed that the past and the present administration had done everything in their power to keep aloof from the quarrel between the Latin and Greek churches, and to terminate the dispute between Russia and Turkey. They had been deceived by over-confidence. The shame, however, was not upon them, but upon the deceiver. Under the circumstances, he approved the increase of the navy, which he thought moderate, and considered that the measures taken by the government were fit and proper to protect the liberties of mankind against the encroachments of a barbarian power. Thus testified the venerable octogenarian whose cautious understanding so many years had only ripened into fuller maturity, and whose feelings had been mellowed when those of others are so often soured or dried up. After this, who could cry out against the expensiveness of warlike preparations, or preach peace upon the plea of economy?

Another important feature in the approaching contest, was a consideration of the question how far such countries as France and England could be justified in waging a war against Christian Russia, in support of Turkey and Mahometanism? The question thus stated had often been urged already, and it was necessary, both for the vindication of England and the satisfaction of the public mind, that it should be fairly met and dealt with. On this account, a motion was made in the House of Lords on the 10th of March, by the Earl of Shaftesbury, for papers respecting the condition of Christianity in Turkey. In common with the general desire of Christendom, he wished that both parties had been removed from their actual positions, yet still, being compelled to choose, he infinitely preferred the Turkish to the Russian civilization. He quoted authorities to show that while Protestantism was largely on the increase among the Turkish Christians, no difficulties were interposed by the Ottoman government to religious instruction; full permission was given to teach, and to print religious books, many of which were issued in the Turkish language. In Russia, on the contrary, his lordship showed that no religious movement was permitted; the Bible in the Russian tongue was prohibited, and even the importation of Hebrew Bibles; while as to Christian missions, these were also forbid by the Russian

government, even to the heathen who were under its dominion. With all this, the Greek priesthood were continually intriguing for the supremacy of their own church; the Russian consuls were employed in the same object, and while the result was tyranny and coercion, the British government was repeatedly compelled to interfere against the arrogant proceedings of these consular apostles. This, indeed, was the secret of the czar's proceedings; and the true meaning of Prince Menschikoff's note was, the exclusive aggrandizement of the Greek church in the Turkish dominions, by the extinction of every act in favour of Protestantism for the last twenty years; and during these twenty years Turkey had permitted more for the advancement of civilization than Russia during four hundred. These statements were cordially received by the house, and the motion was agreed to.

But even while these peaceful negotiations were pending, the war had already been commenced on the part of Russia, by her occupation of the Danubian provinces—an aggression which, in connection with the military events to which it led, will be detailed in the history of the Crimean campaign, of which it forms an important episode. And yet, even although hostilities had thus commenced in earnest, and such heavy blows been struck, the conference at Vienna had not ceased to mediate; and on the 5th of December, the following collective note was addressed to the Turkish government:—"The undersigned representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, assembled at a conference at Vienna, have received instructions to declare that their respective governments behold with profound regret the commencement of hostilities between Russia and the Porte, and desire exceedingly, by interposing between the belligerent powers, to prevent any fresh effusion of blood, and to put an end to a state of things which menaces seriously the peace of Europe. Russia having given an assurance that she was disposed to treat, and the undersigned not doubting that the Porte is animated by the same spirit, they request, in the name of their respective governments, to be informed on what conditions the Ottoman empire would consent to negotiate a treaty of peace."

The application, though so late, did not seem in vain: Turkey, as the power in greatest jeopardy, and that had most to lose, was willing to negotiate anew upon the *status quo*, when an event occurred which gave all further hope of peace to the winds. Irritated at the successes of the Turks on the Danube, and eager to recover her military *prestige*, Russia resolved to abandon her professions of a defensive warfare, for a blow that should recover her lost reputation, even

though it might bring the whole allied powers to her gates. The Asiatic coast of the Black Sea, to which the Turks had been sending reinforcements, was selected for the feat; and the harbour of Sinope, a town half-way between Trebizond and Constantinople, and about a hundred leagues from either, was the place where the storm was to burst. There the Turkish fleet, to the number of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two smaller vessels, were anchored, but in very unskilful order, in the harbour, when on the 30th of November the Russian fleet, consisting of six sail of the line, two sailing frigates, and three steamers, unexpectedly bore down upon them. An action immediately commenced; but although the Turks fought with their wonted obstinacy, their inferiority, not only in ships, men, and cannon, but also in position and nautical skill, made resistance so hopeless, that in an action which lasted two hours and a half, they lost 4000 men, while all their ships were destroyed or rendered useless except a Turkish steamer, which escaped under a heavy fire of broadsides, and carried the tidings to Constantinople.

By this horrible deed, which resembled a massacre and a butchery, rather than a battle, the Czar of Russia belied his professions, upon the strength of which the allied powers had continued in treaty: he had also grossly insulted England and France, whose combined fleets at that time were lying at anchor in the Bosphorus. A day's sail would have brought them to the scene of outrage, either to prevent or avenge it; but in the present state of affairs such a movement was impossible. "The object (wrote Lord Clarendon to the British minister at St. Petersburg) with which the combined fleets were sent to Constantinople was not to attack Russia, but to defend Turkey; and the English and French ambassadors were informed that the fleets were not to assume an aggressive position, but that they were to protect the Turkish territory from attack." This was on the understanding that whatever naval operations were undertaken would be confined to the Russian coasts of Asia, and a defensive warfare on the part of Russia; "but the sultan's squadron (Lord Clarendon continued) was destroyed while at anchor in a Turkish harbour, and where, consequently, the English and French fleets, if they had been present, would have protected it, and would have repelled the attack." After the battle, indeed, the suddenness of which took all by surprise, the allied fleet sent two frigates to report the motions of the enemy; but not a Russian ship was to be seen: at the close of the engagement they had hastily withdrawn and taken shelter in Sebastopol.

The event at Sinope, which excited equal indignation in France and England, drew those countries more closely together against their common enemy, and inspired them with a more ardent spirit of resistance. The first result of this was the entrance of their combined fleet into the Black Sea, for the purpose of active interference in any attack that might be made upon the ports and coasts of Turkey—a movement against which Russia absurdly cried out as an iniquitous interposition. It was justified, however, and that too by no less a diplomatist than Louis Napoleon himself, in an autograph letter to the czar. “The affair at Sinope (he wrote) was for us as painful as it was unexpected; for it matters little to us whether or not the Turks wished to convey munitions of war to the Russian territory. In fact, Russian ships attacked Turkish vessels in the waters of Turkey, while those vessels were riding quietly at anchor in a Turkish port. The Turkish vessels were destroyed, in spite of the assurance that there was no wish to commence an aggressive war, and in spite of the vicinity of our squadrons. It was no longer our policy which received a check, it was our military honour. . . . Out of this feeling arose the order given to our squadrons to enter the Black Sea, and to prevent by force, if necessary, the recurrence of a similar event.” The answer which the Emperor of Russia returned on the 9th of February was still unctuous with peaceful professions, and held out hopes of an amicable nego-

tiation, while he was making arrangements for a war at *outrance*. This was manifested by the fact, that only a day after his letter had been written, he issued a ukase for a military levy throughout his dominions, of nine men in every thousand of the adult male population. This order was speedily followed by a proclamation, in which the blame of all that was to follow was transferred to those who were thenceforth to be regarded as the chief enemies of Russia. After declaiming upon the moderation and justice of his demands, and his hopes that Turkey, if left to herself, would have acquiesced in them, the czar’s manifesto thus continued:—“His imperial majesty’s expectations have been disappointed. The English and French governments have sided with Turkey, and the appearance of the combined fleets off Constantinople has served as a further incentive to its obstinacy; and now both the western powers, without previously declaring war, have sent their fleets into the Black Sea, proclaiming their intention to protect the Turks, and to impede the free navigation of our vessels of war employed for the defence of our own coasts. After a course of proceeding so unheard-of amongst civilized nations, we recalled our embassies from England and France, and have now broken off all political intercourse with these powers.” The proclamation then appealing to the superstition of the people, proceeded to invest the approaching contest to which they were summoned with the character of a war in behalf of



STATE OF THE PORT OF SINOPE AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT BY THE RUSSIANS.—From a sketch by M. A. Durand Berger, engraved in *L'Illustration*, 1854.

Christianity itself, against those godless infidels by whom it was assailed. “England and France,” it said, “have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia, combating for the orthodox faith. But Russia will not betray her holy mission. . . . With this hope, combating for our persecuted brethren, followers of the faith of Christ, with one accord let all Russia exclaim:—‘O Lord,

our Redeemer, whom shall we fear? may God be glorified, and his enemies be scattered.’”

Matters had now arrived at that point where a proclamation of war is inevitable: the hostile parties were already in full array, and standing front to front, so that nothing was needed but the signal of onset. It was first given by France, as the stronger and more interested party, on the

27th of March. On that day, a message from the emperor was conveyed to the *corps législatif*, announcing that as Russia had refused an answer to the summons of France and England, she was thereby placed, with respect to France, in a state

of war, and that the whole responsibility of it rested on Russia alone. This message was welcomed with enthusiastic cheers and cries of approbation. A similar communication was made to the French senate, and it received an equally



ENTRANCE TO THE BOSPHORUS FROM THE BLACK SEA. — From a sketch by James Newlands, C.E.

cordial welcome. France was now as eager for a war with Russia as ever she had been for the invasion of England; while of all the coadjutors she could have found, none was so welcome as her ancient enemy, whose valour she had so often tried, and upon whose steady co-operation she could place unhesitating reliance. In Paris, and over the whole empire, the military spirit of the people, so long suspended, was awakened into full life; and while they recognized in this union of the power of France and England the full realization of their great Napoleon's fondest wish, an additional promise of success seemed to be imparted by the fact that it was under Napoleon's nephew that this combination had been formed, and by whom its efforts would be mainly directed.

It was only the day after, that a similar proclamation of war against Russia was issued on the part of Great Britain. It was felt and acknowledged among us that forbearance had been exercised to the last; that delay had reached its utmost limit, and that fruitless negotiation must now be exchanged for decisive action. So eager indeed, for some time, had been the national feeling, that the caution and reluctance of our ministers had been blamed as lukewarmness, and sometimes reproached as cowardice or even something worse. It was therefore with no ordinary stir and excitement that the royal message to parliament was delivered by the lord-chancellor

in the following words. It will be observed that the chief purport of such a proclamation, conveyed in the expressive word *war*, is not once mentioned throughout—and yet how thoroughly all its stern realities are implied!—

“VICTORIA R.

“Her majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house that the negotiations in which her majesty, in concert with her allies, has for some time past been engaged with his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, have terminated, and that her majesty feels bound to afford active assistance to her ally the sultan against unprovoked aggression.

“Her majesty has given directions for laying before the house copies of such papers, in addition to those already communicated to parliament, as will afford the fullest information with regard to the subject of these negotiations. It is a consolation to her majesty to reflect that no endeavours have been wanting on her part to preserve to her subjects the blessings of peace.

“Her majesty's just expectations have been disappointed, and her majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and devotion of the House of Lords, and on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects, to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the sultan against the encroachments of Russia.”

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854.

VICTORIA.

Origin and causes of the Crimean war—The czar's assumption of the protectorship of the Greek church in the Turkish empire—Dangerous character of this claim to Turkish independence—Insufficient grounds of the claim—Hostile manner in which it was adduced—The Russian army crosses the Pruth—It occupies Moldavia and Wallachia—The Vienna note refused by Turkey—The sultan proclaims war against Russia—First hostile movements of Omar Pacha in the principalities—He crosses the Danube—Reluctance of France and Britain to commence hostilities—Their decision confirmed by the massacre of Sinope—The French and English armies embarked for the contest—They are encamped at Gallipoli—Causes for the selection of this station—Opening of the campaign on the Danube—Victory of the Turks over the Russians at Cilate—The Russians resolve to cross the Balkan—Their purpose frustrated—The allied army encamps at Varna—The allied fleet bombards Odessa—Destructive character of the bombardment—Attempt of the Russians to bombard Silistria—Gallant defence by the Turks—The British officers by whom they are headed—Unsuccessful attack of the Russians on Silistria—They are compelled to raise the siege—The Russians evacuate the principalities, and are replaced by an Austrian army—Sufferings of the allied army at Varna—Havoc produced among the troops by cholera—Destructive fire at Varna—Desolation of the surrounding country—The allied army passes over to the Crimea—Its landing—Its new encampment before Sebastopol—Symptoms of an approaching conflict between the allies and the Russians.



NOTWITHSTANDING the apparently frivolous character of the origin of this war, by which all Europe was kindled, there was a deeper significance in it than was implied by the mere possession of the keys of the holy sepulchre. This was evident to the statesmen of the different powers who either were engaged in the complex negotiations it occasioned, or who watched their character and bearings. The guardianship of the sepulchre, which the possession of these keys conferred, was something very different from a mere religious punctilio. It was supposed to invest with the rights of a protector over the Christians of his own church in the East the sovereign who held it; and this claim, if once allowed, would establish the Russian czar in the virtual sovereignty of European Turkey. This is apparent from a census that was taken in 1844. From this it appeared, that while the population of European Turkey amounted to 15,000,000, only 2,100,000 of these were of Turkish race, and not more than 4,550,000 in all were Mussulmans. Of the Christian part of the population, only 640,000 were Roman Catholics, while there were 10,000,000 belonging to the Greek church, who recognized the czar as their head, and regarded the sultan as little better than Antichrist. In Asiatic Turkey, indeed, the proportions were very different, there being 16,000,000 Mahometans to only 3,000,000 Christians of the Greek church, but the latter could be dangerous subjects, more especially when countenanced by the neighbourhood of a Russian army. It was therefore no trivial matter to Turkey whether these keys

were given to the custody of the Greek or the Latin church, whether they were held by the Emperor of France or of Russia. As yet, indeed, the *rayahs*, or Greek Christians of the Turkish empire, had shown no outward tokens of their sympathy with the designs of Russia; but in the midst of Mahometan intolerance and provocation, who could tell how long this forbearance might last? When the war broke out, the underhand proceedings of these rayahs against the allied armies, showed how completely their sympathies were enlisted on the side of the Russian sovereign.

As this claim of the czar to a protectorship in the empire of another power created an *imperium in imperio* which had a startling appearance to the rest of Europe, and was certain, on being put forth, to create much cavil and debate, some show of political right was necessary to fortify his assumption. For this purpose, therefore, he adduced the treaty of Kainardji, established between Russia and Turkey in 1774, by the 7th and 14th articles of which he laid claim to this unreasonable protectorship. But these articles, when examined, could bear no such interpretation. By the 7th article, nothing more is conceded than the following:—"The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches; and also it allows the ministers of the imperial court of Russia to make, on all occasions, representations as well in favour of the new church at Constantinople, of which mention will be made in the 14th article, as in favour of those who officiate therein." And turning to this last-mentioned article, we find nothing more stated than this:—"It is per-

mitted to the high court of Russia, in addition to the chapel built in the house of the minister, to construct in the Galata quarter, in the street called Bey Oglu, a public church of the Greek rite, which shall be always under the protection of the ministers of that empire, and shielded from all obstruction and all damage." Here the Porte distinctly assumes for itself the protection of its Christian subjects, and allows to Russia nothing more than the right of having a chapel in the ambassador's house, and another in the city of Constantinople.

It was so early as the close of 1852, that the czar distinctly asserted his claim to the protectorate of the Turco-Christian eastern church; and to establish his assumption, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to advance towards the frontier of Moldavia, which is separated from the Russian province of Bessarabia by the river Pruth. This movement of Russia to settle the question by force, occasioned a rival and counter-movement on the part of France by sea, and the Toulon squadron was ordered at an early period of the following year to set sail for the Greek waters. Hot and hotter waxed the negotiation of the representatives of Russia and France at the court of Constantinople, while Britain vainly attempted the office of umpire and pacificator, and the unfortunate sultan, swayed by either party alternately and feeling his danger, was unable to pronounce a conclusive verdict. This question of the contested sepulchre, from which the whole strife had originated, and under which it seemed as if Turkey must be finally crushed to death, was little fitted to recommend Christianity itself either to him or to his subjects! But the czar had advanced too far to recede, and it was not in his nature to yield; he also had calculated upon the impossibility of a union between France and England for a war in behalf of Turkish interests, and upon the sympathy with which his advance would be regarded as a crusade in behalf of Christianity at large. He therefore continued his forward movement. On the 31st of May, 1853, Count Nesselrode announced to Redschid Pacha, the Turkish minister, that in a few weeks the Russian troops would receive orders to cross the frontier and occupy the principalities, not, as he added, to wage war, but to obtain those material guarantees which had been demanded from the Porte; and on the 2d and 3d of July, two divisions of the Russian forces crossed the Pruth. If anything could add to the insult of this aggression, it was the professions of peace with which the act was followed, in the proclamation of Prince Gortschakoff, the commander-in-chief of the army of occupation, to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia. He assured its Christian and conquered, but now

acquiescent and contented vassals of the Porte, that his august master had commanded him to occupy their country, not however with projects of conquest, or to modify their institutions or political position, but to give an immediate and effectual protection to the principalities under certain grave and suspicious circumstances, originating in the Ottoman government. The czar, he added, had no design of an aggressive war upon Turkey, but only to obtain assent to his equitable proposals; and this being obtained, that the army of occupation would immediately return to the frontiers of Russia. But by what right, or semblance of right, had these forces crossed the Pruth at all? The provinces were under the sovereignty of the sultan, and ruled by hospodars of his election, and were not to be entered by the troops either of Russia or Turkey, which were to be stationed beyond their frontier, except for the repression of internal disturbance. Such had been the latest guarantee between the two powers upon the subject; but although there was no pretext of disturbances to be quelled either in Moldavia or Wallachia, the Emperor Nicholas filled these principalities with his troops, without proclamation of war, as if they were his by right of conquest, or had formed a part of his own dominions.

Notwithstanding these provocations, the allied powers were unwilling that Turkey should commit herself by immediately proclaiming war against Russia, for the maintenance of which she was unfit, and the burden of which, they knew, would ultimately fall upon themselves. Overruled accordingly by their advices, the Ottoman government confined itself to remonstrances, and a new series of negotiations was opened up with Russia for the withdrawing of her troops from the Danubian provinces. But matters had now advanced so far that every step of remonstrance or overture only complicated the question. Such was especially the case with the famous Vienna note, which, after a conference of the four great powers held at Vienna, was finally adopted, and presented for the acceptance of Russia and Turkey. This the czar was ready to subscribe, as it was unfortunately so expressed, that several parts of it might be interpreted in favour of his claims; but the Porte was fortunately awake to these equivocations, and refused to receive the note without certain explanations and restrictions. The allied powers were afterwards obliged to approve of this caution and scrupulosity, but in the meantime it formed a triumphant apology to the czar that he had accepted the conditions of the note, by which the blame of further proceedings was thrown on his antagonists. But the war party of Turkey was weary of these proceedings, and at Constantinople the popular in-

dignation could no longer be restrained. War was therefore declared against Russia on the 5th of October (1853), and in the declaration, a temperate statement was given of the concessions the Ottoman government had made, and the injuries by which it had been provoked. The question about the holy places had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties; but Russia was still arming and still advancing. "Is it not, then, seeking a pretext for quarrel," the manifesto added, "to insist, as Russia has done, upon the question of the privileges of the Greek church granted by the Ottoman government—privileges which the government believes its honour, its dignity, and its sovereign power are concerned in maintaining, and on the subject of which it can neither admit the interference nor the *surveillance* of any government? Is it not Russia which has occupied with considerable forces the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, declaring at the same time that these provinces should serve as a guarantee until she had obtained what she desired? Has not this act been considered justly by the Sublime Porte as a violation of treaties, and consequently as a cause of war? Have the other powers themselves been able to come to any other decision? Who then will doubt that Russia has been the aggressor?"

The commander-in-chief of the Turkish army for the Danubian provinces was Omar Pacha. This remarkable man, originally an Austrian subject, and born in Croatia in 1801, had entered the Turkish service in 1830, where his high talents and brilliant military career in Syria, Albania, Koordistan, and Bosnia, secured him the confidence of a government always jealous of foreigners. But as a soldier of fortune and a renegade from the Christian faith, he found it not so easy to obviate the religious scruples or aristocratic pride of those allied commanders with whom he was afterwards to act, and to most of whom he was superior in military skill and experience. On receiving the war manifesto of the Porte, he addressed Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian commander-in-chief, demanding the meaning of his entrance into the provinces, and granting him the space of fifteen days to quit them; but to this the prince answered, "that he had no orders to commence hostilities, nor to conclude peace, nor to evacuate the principalities." It was a ridiculous attempt to assume an aspect of neutrality after a hostile invasion had been committed. But this neutrality could not last, for on the 1st of November, the Russian emperor proclaimed war against Turkey in answer to the manifesto of the Porte. He was aware that, in so doing, he also proclaimed war against the allied powers who had become parties in the question; but he had gone too far to recede. On

the day that his troops had passed the Pruth, the Rubicon was crossed—the die was cast—retreat was impossible without dishonour and shame!

Even yet, however, the western powers would fain have delayed the deadly arbitration; and in the hope that it might yet be in time, they sent to Omar Pacha, desiring him not to cross the Danube, or give battle to the enemy. But the warning came too late. The pacha was already in motion, and between the 28th of October and the 4th of November, his army crossed the river at four places, and established themselves on the opposite side, in spite of the resistance of the Russians. The chief struggle was at Oltenitza, where the Turks, to the number of 9000, had established themselves on a triangle formed by the village of that name, the Argis, and the Danube. Here, after several skirmishes in which the Russians were unsuccessful, they made a final attempt on the 4th of November, but were met with such spirit that they were repulsed with a loss of 1200 in killed and wounded. Several sharp encounters also ensued at Kalafat and its neighbourhood, where the Turks made good their position; but although thus far successful, and in possession of the left bank of the Danube, Omar Pacha did not judge it prudent to keep his whole army there, exposed to attacks at various points during the winter. He therefore blew up the works he had constructed at Oltenitza, and recrossed the river, keeping, however, possession of Kalafat, by which he retained his hold of the left bank of the Danube until the return of spring. But even yet, though matters had proceeded thus far, the hope of peace was not utterly abandoned by the four great powers of Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, and negotiations were still continued at Vienna for the purpose, when the fearful event at Sinope, like the sudden explosion of a mine, scattered protocols and remonstrances into the air, or shrivelled them into dust. France and Britain were defied, and they must answer the defiance with cannon-balls.

Even before war was declared in form by France and Britain against Russia, each had sent an army to the East in behalf of Turkey, to act as circumstances might require. This simple movement was confounding to Russian calculations, which had hitherto believed in the impossibility of military co-operation between two such rivals as France and England; and in this confidence, the Emperor Nicholas had persevered in his aggression upon Turkey until it was too late to arrest its progress. The British army consisted of four divisions, commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, and Major-generals the Duke of Cambridge, Sir de Lacy

Evans, and Sir Richard England, and a division of cavalry under the command of the Earl of Lucan. It was a new and spirit-stirring spectacle for London, after so many years of peace, when the guards were marched through its streets for embarkation; and the huzzaing crowds who admired the stalwart forms and bold soldierly demeanour of this large body of troops, imagined that nothing could resist such a force, and already saw victories swarming in clusters around their standards. Even those whose fancies were more sober, imagined that the hostile demonstration of the two western powers would be enough, and that Russia would desist from her enterprise as soon as the allied armies had landed. The troops set sail from England on the 28th of February, 1854, and disembarking at Malta, where they remained till the 31st of March, they then proceeded to Gallipoli, in European Turkey, at which place they already found the French army arriving by successive detachments. The French force had for its commander-in-chief, the Marshal St. Arnaud, previously minister at war, and under him were Generals Canrobert and



LORD RAGLAN.—From a portrait by Andrew Morton.

Bosquet, commanders of the first and second divisions. The brigade of cavalry was under General d'Allonville, and the first corps of reserve under Prince Napoleon Bonaparte. A second corps of infantry, as a body of reserve, was commanded by General Forey, and a reserve brigade of cavalry by General Cassagnalles. On the 2d of May, Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, distinguished in the war of the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, arrived at Gallipoli.

This locality, upon which the allied armies were for the present encamped, was not only uncomfortable as a place of military occupation, but apparently useless for the purposes of the campaign. It was too remote from the Turkish armies to give them aid, and from Constantinople itself to prevent a Russian march upon the capital. But the fortification of this remote peninsula had been the plan of the French emperor, and upon this post the two armies would be on the right flank of the Russians if they attempted, as they had formerly done, to cross the

Balkan. "The peninsula of Gallipoli," the emperor wrote in his instructions to General St. Arnaud, "is selected as the principal site of disembarkation, because it should be, as a strategical point, the basis of our operations—that is to say, the place of arms for our depôts, our ambulances, and our provisions—and from whence we may with facility march forward or re-embark. That will not hinder you on your arrival, should you consider it advisable, from lodging one or two divisions in the barracks, to be found either at the west of Constantinople or at Scutari. So long as you are not in front of

the enemy, the dispersion of your forces will cause no inconvenience, and the presence of your troops at Constantinople may produce a good moral effect; but if by chance, after having advanced towards the Balkans, you are constrained to make a movement in retreat, it will be of much more advantage to regain the coast of Gallipoli than that of Constantinople, for the Russians will never venture from Adrianople to Constantinople, with an army of 60,000 good troops on their right flank." To work then went the two armies to entrench themselves upon this specified

territory, each in a spirit of generous emulation, and both labouring together in perfect cordiality and good humour. The lines were about seven miles long, running along the crest of a natural ridge from the Gulf of Saros to the Sea of Marmora. When these works were nearly finished, the allied forces were removed to the Bosphorus, the British landing at Scutari on the east side of that narrow strait, and the French occupying the European side of the Bosphorus, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Thus the Turkish capital was protected by the neighbourhood of 20,000 French and 10,000 British bayonets. Here, however, they had not long to wait, for the course of events demanded their presence elsewhere. To those causes by which they were summoned to the real seat of war, we shall now briefly advert.

The campaign between the Turks and Russians on the Danube had opened at the commencement of this year by a victory of the former at the village of Citate over the troops of the czar. The Russians were anxious to commence their

operations against Kalafat, upon the banks of the Danube, but for this purpose it was necessary to dislodge the Turks from several villages between Cioroine and Radovan. Skirmishes to this effect had been frequent between the Cossacks and the Turkish cavalry, until the 6th of January, when a considerable body of the Turkish cavalry boldly attacked the Russian lines at Citate, and the skirmish deepened into a general engagement, in which horse, foot, and artillery all came into full play. The battle lasted till night, and after desperate efforts of the Russians to maintain their slight fortifications, they were dislodged from them by the Turks, who remained masters of the field. The Russians, on being reinforced, made strenuous attempts during the four following days to recover their position, but were met, and in almost every instance foiled, by Omar Pacha and his gallant Osmanlis.

These indecisive operations on the Danube, which tended to raise the courage and confidence of the Turks, were to be exchanged for war upon a grander scale as soon as France and England were known to have combined for the defence of Turkey. Russia felt that she must now have recourse to more decisive measures—that she must once more force the passages of the Balkan, and strike a blow at the head of her enemy before this foreign aid could be available to ward it off. For this purpose, Kalafat, which was well protected by earthworks, and garrisoned by 30,000 Turks, must be watched by at least one-half of the Russian army; the small Turkish forts between the Dobrudscha and Silistria must be stormed and occupied, and a force left to keep the Turkish garrisons on the right bank of the Danube in check. These preliminaries to the important attempt upon the Balkan were commenced with such spirit as promised to be successful: the Russian right was placed so effectually as to keep Kalafat in check, while the left was skilfully conveyed across the Danube at three points, notwithstanding a keen opposition both from the Turks and the weather. The small forts in the Dobrudscha and other places fell into their hands, and nothing apparently remained for them to do but to advance upon Silistria, Varna, and Schumla, as they had done in 1828. But this march through the bleak barren Dobrudscha would, even if uninterrupted, have been a difficult one; every hour increased the chances of interruption from the armies of France and England, which were now entering upon the Turkish soil; and the designs of Austria and Prussia, at present in treaty respecting the part they should take in Turkish affairs, were a subject of doubt and anxiety to Czar Nicholas. These causes for hesitation continued until the French and English armies were encamped in

the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and in readiness to act wherever circumstances might require. And these allies of the Turks had not long to remain in uncertainty, in consequence of the arrival of Omar Pacha, and a war council which he held with the Turkish ministers and the commanders of both armies at Varna, on the 18th of May. His earnest advice was that an Anglo-French army should occupy the country between Varna and Schumla, so as to keep the Russians in check from Chernavoda to Kostendje, while he was prosecuting the war in Wallachia. The occupation of Varna was of especial importance, as a movement from this point could be made upon Schumla and the passes of the Balkan with equal facility, and the whole Russian plan of invasion frustrated. With similar ease, troops could be sent from Varna to the Crimea, to make an attack upon Sebastopol. His representations and arguments prevailed, seconded as they were by a visit which Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud made to Pravadi and Schumla, and an inspection of the Turkish army, and accordingly the armies of France and England, now considerably reinforced, were transported from Sentari by the Black Sea on the 28th of May.



OMAR PACHA.—From a French lithograph.

From these laud operations we must turn our attention to those which were going on at sea, of which the French and English navies now held possession, the Russian ships of war being shut up in Sebastopol. It was upon this element that active hostilities were commenced by the British, and the event was nothing less than the bombardment of Odessa. The moving cause of action was also as trivial and obscure as ever awoke the first echoes of a great war; for it consisted in a British ship carrying a flag of truce

having been fired at, as was alleged, while the governor of Odessa denied the fact of such a violation. But in spite of his denial, the British felt that the insult had been committed, and were resolved that it should not pass with impunity.

This great commercial city, of nearly 80,000 inhabitants, was defended by a garrison of 30,000 soldiers, while her harbour was filled with the merchant ships of several nations, so that the destruction of such a place was certain to aggravate



ODESSA, from the Commercial Quay.—From L'Illustration.

the resentments of the impending war. On the 22d of April, a combined fleet of eleven French and English ships, and a detachment of rocket-boats, advanced upon the town, and opened their terrible cannonade upon its forts, batteries, and military store-houses, carefully avoiding the Quarantine Mole, in which were trading ships of all nations, with their flags hoisted at the mast-head for protection, and also the civic public buildings and churches. The numerous defences of Odessa returned the fire with equal spirit, and for ten hours land and water seemed to be enveloped in an atmosphere of living flame, that was continued until every battery was silenced or destroyed. On this occasion, the terrible effects of steam-ships in a bombardment were distinctly manifested. The chief attack was upon the Imperial Mole, containing strong fortifications and some large barracks, and sheltering numerous Russian ships of every description; and the steamers in assailing it, wheeled in a circle of half a mile within that shallow bay, each pouring in its heavy fire in succession—forming by their movements such a fantastic waltz of death as Holbein could never have imagined. In such a *mêlée* of destructive fire, it was impossible to avoid the buildings which the assailants were desirous of sparing; and the obstinacy or confusion of the Russian authorities, who, during the whole cannonade, exhibited no flag upon their public edifices and defences, so as to distinguish them from those of a pacific character, only served to involve all in one remorseless destruction. Thus, when the cannonade ended, church and palace had fallen as well as the fort or battery, and half of the inhabitants had their homes destroyed. But the greatest wonder of

all, and signally illustrating the advantages of an attack by steam-ships and their heavy artillery, was exhibited in the trivial loss sustained by the victors, notwithstanding the resistance of the Russians. Of the English, not more than one man was killed, and eight or nine men wounded. The French had only two men killed, and two wounded, and that, also, not by the fire of the enemy, but a mischance from one of their own guns. Of the loss of the Russians in killed and wounded, no reckoning could be obtained; but from the havoc of shot and fire, and the explosion of powder magazines, it must have been of a fearful amount. When this affair was ended, the czar endeavoured to make the most of it by exciting the fanaticism of his subjects against the French and English; and accordingly, he published a proclamation, setting forth the impiety of the allies in having attacked Odessa upon a Sunday, when the inhabitants “were assembled in the orthodox temples to celebrate the death of the Son of God crucified for the redemption of humanity.” He then represented in the same manifesto, that these profane invaders had been gloriously repulsed by his valorous troops; and finally, to signalize this defence, he allowed the public works that had been destroyed to be rebuilt at the expense of the inhabitants of Odessa, while he rewarded Baron Osten-Sacken, its governor, with the order of St. Andrew. As for the allied fleets, they repaired after this bombardment to Sebastopol, and challenged the Russian ships of war to come forth to a fair encounter, an invitation which the enemy, being of inferior force, judged fit to decline.

The scene of interest now shifted to Silistria,

the bombardment of which had been commenced by the Russians, to the number of 70,000, under the command of Prince Paskiewitsch. It was begun at the time that Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud had visited Pravadi and Schumla, previous to the embarkation of their troops for Varna. For this assault the Russians had made considerable preparations, by conveying the heavy materials for a siege across the Danube in the earlier part of May; and the gallant defence of this fortress by the Turks forms one of the most interesting episodes of the war. The chief fortifications of Silistria consisted of earthworks, in the raising of which the Turks were indefatigable; and as their construction and defence required little scientific or strategical skill, no bulwarks could have been better suited to the rude bold hearts that rallied behind them. Of these works, the principal was called Arab Tapia or Tepè, about 2000 yards in advance of the ramparts of Silistria; and behind, at the distance of 1000 yards, was Ylanli Tepè. These were relied upon as the chief defences of the fortress, although they were only earthen mounds of three sides, while the fourth was entirely open; and as they were in the direction of Rasova, from which the besiegers were to advance, they would naturally endure the first and chief brunt of the encounter. As it was necessary to become masters of these works before Silistria could be invested, the Russians assailed them with all the formidable and complicated resources of a siege—with parallels, zigzags, batteries, and mines—and twice they succeeded in penetrating within the Arab Tepè, while eight mines were exploded beneath its ramparts, and fifty yards of its front line were levelled with the ground. But as often as the enemy entered, they were driven back by the intrepid Turks; and as fast as the works were destroyed they were repaired, or new ones constructed: the unflinching courage of the besieged compensated for the feebleness of these protections, and made them as formidable as if they had been ramparts of the living rock. In this unwonted fashion, the Russian strategy was encountered by a pertinacity for which it was not prepared, and the resistance protracted long beyond the time at which, according to established calculations, the place should have surrendered, or been destroyed. Nor was Omar Pacha neglectful in reinforcing the almost overborne garrison with fresh means of resistance. Silistria, he well knew, was the Thermopylæ by which the invasion of Turkey was to find its entrance; and on the 4th of June, he sent forward 30,000 men to the rescue, who succeeded in entering the outworks by breaking through the Russian lines. Four days after, 1000 Turkish soldiers were equally successful, by stealing at

midnight into the place, over the corpses of the Russians who had fallen in heaps during the assault. In this wonderful defence, also, it was well for the undisciplined Turks that they were not without the direction of European skill, science, and genius, and that they had the wisdom to avail themselves of such advantages. Their brave commander, Mussà Pacha, was slain by a cannon-ball, and the remaining officers were little fitted to direct the enthusiasm of their followers, or turn it to the best account. But in Silistria, there were two English officers, Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, both belonging to the East India Company's service, and to their exertions the length and success of the defence are chiefly to be attributed. They threw themselves into the place as volunteers; their superior abilities were at once recognized by the defenders; and while their gallant example animated the courage of the Turks, their skilful directions were implicitly adopted in the plans by which every attack of the assailants was baffled. Lieutenant Nasmyth happily survived the siege, to enjoy the rewards which his gallant devotedness had so justly won; but not so Captain Butler, who died exhausted by an endemic fever, brought on by



COSTUMES OF THE TURKISH ARMY, 1854.
1, Foot artillery. 2, Chasseur. 3, Infantry of the line, sergeant. 4, Bashi-Boozook.

the incredible fatigues of his anxious and manifold exertions. It will ever be remembered with gratitude, that by their interposition not only Silistria was saved, but the French and English armies spared from the necessity of a campaign on the Danube, where the pestilent miasma of marsh and vapour would probably have been more destructive than the sword.

In the meantime, while the siege of this obstinate fortress was continued, the ardour of the Russians was not only damped by the resistance they encountered, but by the establishment of the allied armies at Varna. By this movement, which brought such a formidable enemy so nigh the seat of action, they were obliged not only to waste time in strengthening their fortifications for the purpose of guarding against an attack from without, but to provide in case of the worst for a retreat. The same cause prevented their complete investment of Silistria, by compelling them to keep their forces together, instead of extending them so widely as an investment would have required. On the 13th of June, the grand assault was to be made, and after the explosion of mines and a terrible cannonade, the Russian army was ordered to advance. But instead of starting to the summons as they were wont, they stood sullenly in their ranks, and refused to move: a dispiriting and wasting sickness was added to their other calamities, and alarmed at their unwillingness for action, their commander postponed the assault to the following day. But twice they were driven back from the frail earthen defences, and when the order was given for a third onset, they wavered and paused. On this, their commanders threw themselves into the front line, but only to share the usual fate of a forlorn hope. Prince Paskiewitch was slightly, and Prince Gortschakoff severely wounded; Count Orloff, General Luders, and General Schilders, who had taken Silistria a quarter of a century earlier, were all struck down with dangerous hurts; and of the superior officers, few were withdrawn from the deadly fire without being incapacitated for duty, so that the chief command had to devolve upon new leaders. After this failure, the next great assault was made on the night of the 18th of June, and it was commenced with an explosion of mines, by which a gap was made in the Turkish parapet nearly twelve yards long. But the Russians on advancing to this breach, found a new wall that had been raised behind it manned with troops, and bristling with guns, at which unexpected apparition they fell back and retired. The Turks then rushed out of their new entrenchment to repair the old, which they did in spite of a heavy fire of musketry; and as fast as one man fell in the breach, another and still another came forward, and worked spade in hand, while their officers, coolly smoking their chibouques under cover of the parapet, indicated by a wave of their pipes the places at which the work was to be carried on.

During forty days this hopeless siege of Silistria was continued before it was reluctantly abandoned in despair, and the means brought against

it both of troops and *materiel* attested the heroism with which the defence was maintained. The Russians had eight batteries armed with artillery of very heavy calibre, extending in a concave curve from the right bank of the Danube to the outworks of the fortress; they had sixty guns in position at Silistria, that threw out more than fifty thousand projectiles of shot and shell; they constructed more than three miles of approaches, and sprang six mines; and by wounds and disease they lost 12,000 men in this memorable siege. And yet they gained not a foot of ground, and were obliged to leave the outer mud wall against which their force had been broken, still in the hands of its defenders, although it had been crushed into a shapeless mass of earth by mine and cannonade. If Turkey is doomed to extinction at no very distant day, in spite of European alliances for her preservation, the remembrance of this noble defence of Silistria will be a sunset upon her departure, and will serve to give dignity to her downfall.

The retreat of the Russians after raising the siege of Silistria, was a signal for the Turkish army to advance, which it did in the beginning of July, by recrossing the Danube; and on the 8th it inflicted a partial defeat upon the enemy at Giurgevo, on the left bank of the river, about forty-five miles from Bucharest, which still further confirmed the despondency of the Russians. The latter, abandoning their camp with an immense quantity of stores, fell back in full retreat upon Bucharest; but after a short stay in that city, they retired to the line of the Sireth, upon which the Turks took quiet possession of the old Wallachian capital. By this time, indeed, Wallachia was no longer to be a residence or a shelter to the Russian arms, whether in victory or defeat, as, after long hesitation, Austria had entered into a treaty with the Sublime Porte on the 14th of June, by which the existence of the Turkish empire in its present limits was recognized, and the use of every means pledged to obtain the evacuation of the principalities by the Russians. The Austrian army of occupation for these purposes was to be stationed in Wallachia and Moldavia, subject entirely to the authority of its own commander-in-chief, who was to inform the general of the Turkish army of his operations; and as soon as peace should be restored between the sultan and the czar, this Austrian army of occupation was to be withdrawn. This position of a neutral arbiter which Austria at last consented to assume, did not fulfil the expectations or the wishes of the friends of Turkey; but it was thought by some, that in the present state of matters, it was as much as the court of Vienna could offer, consistently with its late debt of gratitude to the czar

for his effectual aid in the suppression of the Hungarian revolt. On the 20th of August, the Austrian army for the occupation of the provinces commenced its march into Wallachia and Moldavia, and established its head-quarters at Bucharest, by which all further collision between the Turkish and Russian forces on these territories was prevented. By this movement, it might be said that both parties were equally benefited; for while Omar Pacha was thus rid of the defence of these provinces, and of the pre-

sence of a dangerous enemy that might still have proved too hard for him, Russia, by the withdrawing of its army, was enabled to strengthen the means of its resistance in the Crimea. It was upon the French and the English, for whom this portion of the war was reserved, that the whole brunt of the evil was to fall.

Of these armies of the allies, we have already mentioned the removal from the neighbourhood of Constantinople to Varna. It took place simultaneously with the commencement of the



THE TOWN AND BAY OF VARNA.—From Lieutenant-colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea.

siege of Silistria, and at Varna they continued inert, although exercising, by their nearness to the scene of active operations, a paralyzing influence upon the Russians. Even this inaction, however, was accompanied with such melancholy as well as important consequences, that it forms an episode which cannot be dismissed with a mere casual notice.

Varna, situated on the shores of the Black Sea, in the province of Bulgaria, is a fortified town and seaport, 160 miles to the north-west of Constantinople, and contains about 14,000 inhabitants. Its site is a gentle height on the north-west side of a semicircular bay formed by two rocky promontories; and, like many other towns which have been for a length of time in possession of the Turks, it exhibits the usual melancholy symptoms of neglect and decay; for it is but slightly fortified, its houses, which are chiefly of wood, are irregularly placed, and it has no public buildings but a few mosques. The British troops had their encampment at Aladyn, a few miles distant from the town; and seldom have war-tents been pitched in a more beautiful landscape, consisting of meadows so richly wooded and watered as to resemble the choicest rural scenes of England: it was this alluring home resemblance that determined the selection of the spot. During the whole time of their residence at Varna, the French

and English, both officers and common soldiers, vied with each other in deeds of kindness and mutual accommodation, so that it seemed as if the centuries of previous hostility had only inspired them with a deeper respect for each other, and a more ardent desire to be connected by the ties of an enduring fellowship. The greatest grievance, indeed, that first began to be experienced as a common calamity was the inactivity to which they were subjected, and this the more, as they could occasionally hear the faint, sullen boom of the distant cannonades, which proclaimed that there was stirring work going on at Silistria. But this feeling was raised to tenfold intensity when tidings arrived that the Turks had been successful—that the siege was raised—that the enemy had retreated none could tell whither; and “When shall we have a brush with the Russians?” was now the prevalent cry. They were also in full force for a great united enterprise, in consequence not only of the reinforcements that had arrived from England and France, but the addition of some Turkish and Egyptian battalions. Forty thousand men were encamped around the walls of Varna, while every street was crowded with soldiery who scarcely could find room to move. It was an assemblage well fitted for the visit of an Asiatic pestilence, and the Destroyer came at the summons.

On this occasion, the visitation was of that latest and deadliest phase which the plague—that terrible scourge of humanity from the earliest ages—has now assumed: it was the cholera. Previous to its arrival, fever and dysentery had been prevalent among the troops, owing in great part to their immoderate use of cucumbers and water-melons, and the pernicious raki or brandy of the country; and toward the latter part of July, it was found that these diseases had deepened into confirmed cholera. The first to be visited were the French, and among them the progress of the disease was so rapid, that they were obliged to clear out their hospital at Varna, which, though a very large building, was too confined for the number of patients, and treat their cases in the open field. It was melancholy to witness the effects of the first impressions of the malady upon these men, before it had taken confirmed possession: the laugh, the song, the jest, so essential a portion of the French soldier's existence, were no longer heard; they listlessly sat still, or moved with slow and heavy steps; and when the first touch of the disease was felt, however lightly, it was received as a death-sentence from which there was no appeal. The English army was soon to be allied with them in suffering and loss, for on the 23d of July, it broke out in their encampment with equal violence, wherein men and officers were equally the victims, and fifteen or sixteen deaths in the hospital was the usual return of each day's medical report. It was then found that the choice of Aladyn for the place of their encampment had been a fatal one; for notwithstanding the loveliness of the surrounding scenery, and the abundance of wood and water, it was noted at this season of the year by the inhabitants as a hot-bed of infectious maladies, and therefore to be carefully avoided. The same was the case with the neighbouring valley of Devno, in which part of the British tents were pitched; for there disease was wont to be so prevalent in summer that the Turks had termed it the "Valley of Death." It was time to abandon this fatal place, already crowded with the dying and the dead, and the decimated brigades were removed and spread over a wide encampment, extending over the country from Monastir to Varna, a distance of about twenty-six miles. Nor were the living exhibitions of this wasting plague less appalling than the sight of the graves with which their late place of sojourn was plentifully garnished. In our brigade of guards, numbering 3000 strong, 600 were already on the sick list; and when they were removed from Aladyn to Varna, which was scarcely ten miles distant, after a very short encampment, they occupied two days in the march, although their packs were carried for them. When such was

the fate of the choicest of Britain—the men of gigantic frame and iron endurance, whom perhaps no equal number of troops on earth could have matched—what must have been the condition of the other regiments composed of men of the common file? It has been noted, too, that the coming of a pestilence is often attended with a recklessness and improvidence among its victims amounting to downright insanity, and through which the cases of suffering and death are fearfully multiplied; and the present conduct of many of the soldiers, both French and English, was no exception to the melancholy rule. They clubbed together for the purpose of eating and drinking; they gorged themselves with pumpkins, water-melons, and fruit, or made themselves dead-drunk with the sour wine and poisonous raki of the country, under the idea of using precautions against the cholera; and then slept in the kennels or ditches, under a blazing sun, when their enfeebled frames were exhausted with the weight of their debauch. While the land was thus overspread with mortality, and its atmosphere laden with infection, the sea was no protection, and the English and French ships, anchored in Balchik Bay and the harbour of Varna, exhibited an amount of infection and mortality equal to that on the shore, attended also in many cases with still more appalling circumstances. At last, on the second week of August, the mortality on board the French and English ships was so great, that the fleet had to make a run for it, and stand out to sea upon a cruise. How greatly this change was needed appeared from the fact, that on the 16th of the month, the British ship *Britannia*, since it left Balchik, had lost seventy men, and had buried ten of her crew on that morning. To the horrors of pestilence were added the threats of famine, by a destructive fire which broke out in Varna on the 10th. It commenced in a spirit-shop near the French commissariat stores: the spirits, that ran in torrents, were converted into a torrent of flame, which the wooden houses quickly caught, and propagated from street to street; and for ten hours the sailors were employed in arresting the conflagration, which, in spite of every effort, destroyed a fourth part of the town, and an immense portion of the military rations and stores. Even as it was, Varna, but for these exertions, would have been wholly reduced to ashes, and the army left destitute. In what cause this suspicious catastrophe originated cannot well be ascertained: it was one to which every Turkish town, from Constantinople downwards, is hourly exposed, and which makes the police alarm of *yanjen var* [there is a fire!] as common as a market-proclamation. But in this case, it was attributed to the Greeks

resident in Varna, whose sympathies with the cause of Russia were notorious, and whose quarter of the town was untouched; and a Greek, who was seen to set fire to the spirits with a torch as they flowed into the street, was cut down, and six or seven of his countrymen bayoneted by the French soldiers, while two Greeks, who were apprehended, were hanged after a very summary trial.

Such was the inauspicious commencement of a campaign upon which the hopes of England and France had been so sanguine, and for the first tidings of which London and Paris were so eager. Had the glorious pomp and circumstance of war, which had gone from their gates like a military triumph, been so quickly changed into a dead march! The havoc of a whole career of victory had been suffered, and yet not a single stroke been dealt. While such was the loud murmur of anger and disappointment at home, it may be imagined how much more keenly these emotions were felt by the armies at Varna. The soldiers complained that they were cooped up only to perish in heaps; they were drawn out only as a mark for the destroyer; they were struck by a silent, unseen power, and falling without fame or memorial. Why were they not led into the Crimea, where the stir of battle, or at least a soldier's grave could be found, instead of lingering in this life-in-death encampment? But for this purpose, more than one movement had been already made, and without success. While the siege of Silistria was going on, Lord Cardigan was sent with the light cavalry to ascertain the position of the Russian main army, for even its locality was as yet unknown at Varna; but although his exploration extended for nearly 300 miles over a waste, uninhabited country, and was advanced as far as Trajan's Wall on the borders of the Dobrudscha, he could only ascertain that the siege was raised, and that the force employed upon it was in full retreat towards Bessarabia. On the 19th of July, when a council of war had decided that it was time to proceed to active measures, General Sir George Brown, accompanied by General Canrobert, and attended by several French and English officers, embarked on board her majesty's ship *Fury*, to explore the Crimean coast in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and ascertain a fitting place for the debarkation of the army; but on the morning of the 20th the ship was discovered from the ramparts, and fired at with shot and shell, so that its object was frustrated. On the following day, Marshal St. Arnaud, weary of inaction, and alarmed at the continuing progress of the cholera, under which he was himself suffering, sent a division under General Canrobert on an expedition into the Dobrudscha, where he heard that

more than 10,000 of the Russian troops were assembled, by whose defeat he hoped the spirits of his army would be revived. But his soldiers carried the disease along with them, and without encountering an enemy, except in an insignificant skirmish of cavalry, the men died in heaps on the march, or in their tents, more numerous than if their progress had been enfiladed by hostile batteries. Seven thousand men perished in this useless expedition alone, the miseries of which can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of modern warfare.

But the time of emancipation arrived at last. The siege of Silistria having been raised, and the Austrian army of occupation established in the provinces, the French and English armies could now carry out the original plan of the campaign by passing to the Crimea. It was through Sebastopol that the czar possessed the command of the Black Sea and the means of invading Constantinople; and it was therefore by the capture of this strong and dangerous fortress that the sultan could be best protected, and the objects of the expedition accomplished. There was joy among the troops, both French and English at Varna, when this purposed movement was made known; and under the welcome prospect of change of place and active occupation, the sick began to recover, and despair was exchanged for hope. The transportation commenced at the beginning of September, and was no quick or easy process, although 600 vessels were employed in it, protected by a war fleet carrying 3000 cannon; for the united armies mustered more than 50,000 bayonets, and the conveyance of so large a force by sea was an unwonted movement, while most of the commanders were unaccustomed to war upon such an extensive scale. There was therefore much hurrying and crowding, a vast amount of blunders and misunderstanding of orders, and loud complaints of improvidence and deficiency in the means of transport, before this military chaos had settled into order upon the place of its final occupation. But with that settlement, good humour as well as military efficiency was restored, and the taking of Sebastopol in a very short period, if not at the first assault, was anticipated as a positive certainty. But these confident hopes were mingled with the ominous doubts and misgivings of the more reflective. That iron fortress of the Black Sea, upon the fortifications of which the utmost resources of military art had been expended, was as likely to waste an army that sat down before it, as to yield to the onset. It was also feared that the season was too far advanced for such active operations, and that the sufferings of a Crimean winter would have to be endured, along with those of a perilous and protracted siege.

The question of the fittest point for debarkation upon a coast hitherto so little known, had previously been the subject of much deliberation; and the place selected was Eupatoria Bay, to the north of Sebastopol, at a place called Staroe Ukroplenie, or the Old Fort. The landing was commenced on the 14th of September; and the first to reach the shore was a boat's crew of Frenchmen, who planted the tricolor flag in the ground, thus taking possession of the Crimea amidst shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" As for the town of

Eupatoria, which presented a formidable appearance from the sea, it surrendered at the first summons. Although it must have been previously known to the Russians that the destination of the allied armies was the Crimea, such was either their apathy or their confidence, that no attempts had been made to interrupt the expedition. On sea, therefore, not a single hostile sail appeared in sight; and on the landing of the allies, there was neither a battery to oppose them, nor light troops to harass them with skirmishing: no



EUPATORIA.—From a sketch by M. Dulong, engraved in *L'Illustration*, 1854.

thing in the form of an enemy appeared, except a Russian officer attended by four mounted Cossacks, who coolly stood within reach of the Menie rifles, and took notes of the particulars of the debarkation, which were probably to be transmitted to head-quarters. Instead of awaiting, they must seek the Russian army, which, as the allied commanders learned from the reconnaissance of their steamers, was entrenched in a strong camp on the heights to the south of the river Alma; and thither accordingly they commenced their march on the 19th of September. And that march was a splendid and a gay spectacle, contrasted as it was with the bleakness and solitude of the surrounding scenery; for the soldiers, by change of place and occupation, were fast recovering their health and spirits, and revelling in the hopes of victory. As Marshal St. Arnaud rode past the front of the 55th regiment, he exclaimed, "English, I hope you will fight well to-day." "Hope!" cried a voice from the ranks—"sure you *know* it!"

The tokens of the enemy's neighbourhood and promise of battle were not long in appearing; these were given in the form of villages and houses committed to the flames by the Russians

themselves, to delay our advance, and in troops of cavalry in the distance, that moved and disappeared as the hostile march approached nearer their encampment. After crossing the Bouljanak, a sluggish, muddy stream, the signs of hostility became more decisive: troops of Cossack lancers advanced for skirmishing, who were confronted by our light dragoons and hussars; and when the Cossacks fell back, our pursuing cavalry were met by strong bodies of Russian horse who checked their onward career. This called up other detachments both French and British to their aid, on which the Russians fell back upon the Alma. In itself the encounter was nothing more than an insignificant skirmish, a mere crossing of sword-blades; but this meeting of weapons had taught the combatants the strength of each other's arm, and warmed them for a conflict that should be at *outrance*. That night the allied armies bivouacked at Bouljanak, upon which they had fallen back, with the Russian position on the Alma full in sight, being illuminated by numerous watch-fires that gleamed over an extent of four miles. On the morrow, the campaign in the Crimea was to be opened in earnest with the conflict of the Alma.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854.

VICTORIA.

Preparations for the battle of the Alma—Plan of the battle—Movements previous to the attack—The French cross the Alma—They gain the heights—Their successful attack on the Russian position—Entrance of the British troops into battle—Chief movements of the conflict—Defeat of the Russians—Losses of both parties at the battle of the Alma—Inability of the French and English to follow up their victory—They commence their march upon Sebastopol—Plan adopted for its siege—Risk of battle during the march—The allies take up their position against Sebastopol at Balaklava—Account of Sebastopol—Its strength and resources—Attempt of the allies to bombard Sebastopol by land and sea—Failure of the land bombardment—The bombardment by sea unsuccessful—Causes of the failure—The siege continued—Want of effective materials for the siege—Increase of the Russian army of observation—Its stealthy approach to raise the siege—Unexpected attack on the position of the British troops—Battle of Balaklava—Particulars of the attack on the British position—The Turkish troops driven from their redoubts—Gallant conduct of the 93d Highlanders—Chivalrous and successful onset of our dragoons—The great Balaklava charge—Mistakes that occasioned it—The British light horse led to the unequal encounter—Death of Captain Nolan—Terrible onset of the light horse—Their successful charge through a whole army—Their perilous return—Aid brought to them by the French chasseurs—Their heavy losses in this encounter—Failure of the Russian attempt at Balaklava—The British contract their line of encampment—A sally from Sebastopol—Its attack on the British second division—The Russian troops defeated and driven back to the town—The allied armies continue the siege—Obstacles to their success—The Russians again resolve to raise the siege—Their superior means for a fresh attempt—Prince Menschikoff invites the sons of the czar to Inkermann—They arrive to witness the expected victory—The Russians make a night march upon the British encampment—They secure an advantageous position for the morrow's attack—They advance to surprise the British second division—The alarm given by the resistance of our pickets—The second division drawn up—It is assailed at once from several quarters—The attempted surprise changes into open battle—Battle of Inkermann—Chief incidents of the engagement—Total defeat of the Russians—Greatness and importance of the victory of the allied armies at Inkermann.



DURING the night of the 19th of September, while the soldiers of the allied army were sitting by their bivouac fires, or sleeping on the ground wrapped up in their cloaks and blankets, the principal commanders were arranging the plan for the next day's engagement. The plan was the following:—One French division under General Bosquet, accompanied by a part of the Turkish regiments, was to advance along the sea-shore, force the heights, and turn the enemy's left flank; and this being accomplished, the remainder of the French army was instantly to attack that part of the Russian centre which rested on high ground above a village called Alta-tamak. The English, retaining their inland direction, were to wait in the village of Barluik until the French should establish themselves on the heights, and were then to turn the Russian right, giving as wide a berth as possible to the heavy batteries in the enemy's centre. The inshore squadrons of the allied fleets, chiefly consisting of steamers, were to keep close to the coast, and cover the advance and attack of Bosquet's division.¹ It has been alleged that when this plan was made, the heights of Alma and the position of the Russian army had not been duly inspected.

Such were especially the complaints of our home strategists in London—of men who "sit by their firesides, and presume to know what is done in the capitol." But still more serious were the complaints and recriminations in the French and English armies upon each other on account of their misunderstandings and want of co-operation in the execution of the plan itself. Passing over these, which are still unsettled matters of controversy, it is sufficient for the present to note how ably and successfully the plan was executed.

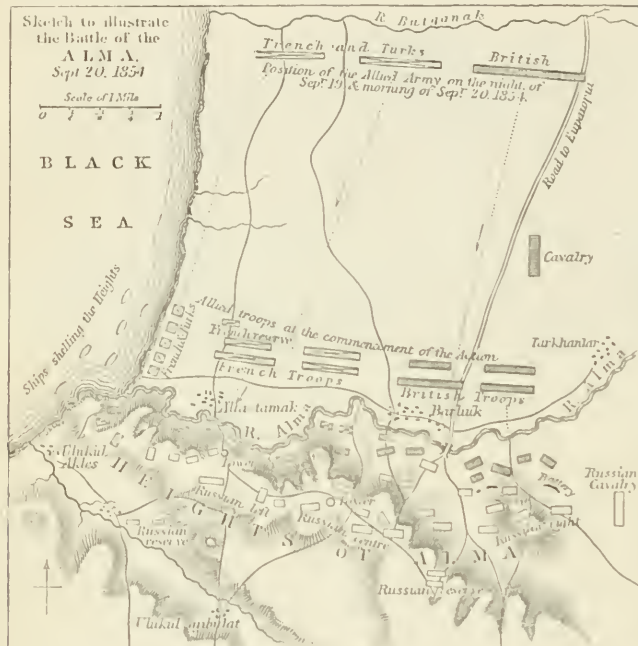
The morning of the 20th of September opened with a thick haze that obscured the objects of the plain; and the heights of Alma were so enveloped in its folds, that at first it was thought the Russians had abandoned their position: but a light breeze rose, which removed the vapour like a curtain, and displayed the Russians to full view, with their formidable batteries, and strong natural ramparts of rock and ravine. The first movement was that of the allied inshore squadron of vessels, headed by the *Agamemnon*, which took up a position off the mouth of the Alma; and this being effected, General Bosquet's division descended from the heights of Bouljanak, followed and supported more inland by the divisions of Prince Napoleon, and Generals Canrobert and Forey. At a later period, the British, whose encampment was more distant,

¹ *Annual Register*, 1854.

advanced in order for battle, and took up their position on the extreme left of the French. Both allied armies could now distinctly see the work that lay before them, which might well have daunted the bravest; for the slopes and precipices behind the Alma were serrated with glittering lines of bayonets, where the Russians were drawn up in almost inaccessible positions, and defended by better cannon than those which the assailants could bring against them. The stubborn, unflinching hardihood of the Russians,

passed the Alma without obstacle at the burned village of Alta-tamak, ascended the cliffs on the opposite side, and surmounted them in a few minutes. Thus the first difficult step in advance was won, and the enemy brought within reach, where the coming encounter could be better equalized; and in this daring and difficult advance, none were so distinguished as the regiment of Zouaves, which General Bosquet had thrown out to commence it. These hardy, sun-burnt soldiers from Algeria, conspicuous not

more by their bizarre Asiatic dress than their agility and courage, rushed through the river, bounded up the cliffs on the opposite side like antelopes, swinging themselves upward by the branches of trees and brushwood, alternately appearing for a moment and vanishing, until they were seen upon the high plateau, falling into regular line, and ready to advance against the fire that was opened upon them. And gallantly they maintained their ground, while the main body of the French under Prince Napoleon and General Canrobert were advancing to their assistance. The main body under these commanders, after crossing the river, gained a pathway leading to the plateau, but so steep and rugged, that it was only by extraordinary exertions that their artillery could be dragged up: but no



and the prestige they had acquired in passive and defensive warfare, was also taken into account; and it was known that thus posted, they could not be dislodged without a deadly struggle and fearful sacrifice. The delay of the British advance, the march of the French troops along the shore, and the necessity of reconnoitring the Russian position, prevented Bosquet from leading his division to the attack until it was nearly one o'clock p.m.; but when it was commenced, it was with a spirit and energy that made up for the loss of time. Marching to the mouth of the river, which had been cleared of the presence of the enemy by the guns of the steamers, the brigade of General Brouat crossed the Alma by a sand-bank, the only point at that part where the water was fordable, the men wading up to their waists, and afterwards climbing up the steep paths to the opposite height, where the Russians were ready to receive them. At the same time, the brigade of D'Autemarre

sooner had it arrived, than it was brought forward to the support of the Zouaves, who were still battling gallantly, although almost overpowered by numbers. In ranks, and in fragments of ranks, the rest of the division scrambled up as they best could; and once arrived, General Bosquet quickly formed them into line, and led them to the attack. It was marvellous that such progress had been made with so little opposition—that the well-planted batteries of the Russians had been so silent—that the French had met no interruption as their broken ranks winded upward with difficulty through these steep, rugged ravines, that had been hollowed out by the torrents of ages, and which could have been so easily defended. But the plan of resistance adopted by the Russian commander, Prince Menschikoff, which was confident to rashness, made him neglect these advantages, and leave them open to the assailants. His purpose was, to allow a sufficient number of their bat-

talions to gain the edge, and this done, to charge them before they could form, and hurl them down at the point of the bayonet. But he had not sufficiently reckoned upon the rapidity of French movements, and the extraordinary activity of the Zouaves, until he found them established with their guns in battery, and ready to dispute the ground with him upon equal terms.

It was now therefore that the conflict was commenced in earnest, where rapid movements and desperate efforts were enveloped in the smoke and flame of the artillery. Finding his plan frustrated, and his left about to be turned, Prince Menschikoff brought up whole masses of foot and artillery to support it; but the division Bosquet had already entered into action; the divisions Canrobert and Napoleon were advancing, and bearing down the obstacles that opposed them, according to the terse order of St. Arnaud, "Keep straight before you, and follow your own inspiration for your manœuvres: we must gain these heights: I have no other instructions to give to men on whom I rely." The three divisions were at last established on the plateau, after each had fought and won its way over local obstacles, and confronting troops and batteries, and all were now ready to bear down upon the enemy with a combined attack. This made Menschi-

extreme right of the battle. The reserve accordingly crossed the river, and took their appointed places in the conflict. A telegraph tower was used by the Russians as the key of the centre of



RUSSIAN IRREGULAR TROOPS.—From sketches by V. Timm.

1, A Lezghian; 2, a D. n. Cossack; 3, a Circassian in full dress; 4, a Tartar Cossack of the Crimea; 5, a Cossack of line of Caucasus; 6, a Cossack of Orenburg.

their position; and from the batteries on its flanks, and the sharpshooters within its walls, a deadly fire was kept up, under which the French dropped rapidly, or betook themselves to cover, when the entrance of the reserves to their aid introduced an important change; they assailed the tower, carried it after a short and desperate resistance; and this advantage being seconded by General Canrobert with his division, the enemy's left and left-centre were fully put to the rout, or driven to the rear. The victory, so far as the French were concerned, was secured, and St. Arnaud, after congratulating his generals, directed their attention to the English, who might now need their aid. But no such help was required; the English had already done their part, and after similar struggles were to be equally victorious.

According to the plan of battle concerted between the allied commanders, the British were not to commence their onset until the French should have gained the heights, and turned the Russian left. They waited accordingly until the French had established themselves on the plateau, being partly concealed from the enemy by the smoke of the burning village, and the trees on the river bank. It was an unwilling halt on their part, more especially as the sound of the cannonade deepened, and the tokens of the distant struggle came nigher, until a body of the French marines came in contact with their lines, while hastening forward in support of their countrymen. Their impatience for action was gratified sooner than was intended; for Marshal



RUSSIAN REGULAR TROOPS.—From sketches by W. Timm.

1, Grenadier of the regiment of the guard of the Emperor Paul. 2, Chasseur of the guard. 3, Fifer of the guard. 4, Grenadier of the horse-guard. 5, Cuirassier. 6, Hussar.

koff anxious for his centre, which this junction menaced; and in consequence of his arrangements to strengthen it, M. St. Arnaud sent orders to his reserve to advance in two divisions, one to the support of Canrobert, and the other to proceed to the

St. Arnaud finding more resistance than he had expected—that batteries were multiplying on his front and flank, and fresh columns of infantry brought against him, sent in all haste to Lord Raglan, requesting him to advance without further delay. The message, although it disconcerted the original plan, was not unwelcome, and the British commander gave orders to advance. No sooner had his troops emerged into full view near the bank of the river, than the Russian batteries on the slope met them with a destructive fire, and their tirailleurs opened upon them a heavy discharge of rifles; but they pressed on like a torrent, sending volley after volley before them, that drove the tirailleurs across the river, and inflicted serious loss upon the batteries on the heights. Under cover of this fire, the Alma was crossed, the extreme left of the French reached, and every obstacle of the river banks, the vineyards, and the felled trees surmounted, although these difficulties seemed insurmountable, defended obstinately as they were by the enemy, and not relinquished without a series of obstinate struggles, under which the British more than once were obliged to lie down for shelter from the destructive fire of the Russian batteries. But forward and upward they still continued to press, although their comrades were falling at every step; and three regiments, the 7th, 23d, and 33d, reached the earthwork from which they had been cannonaded, but were there obliged to fall back before a heavy reversing fire of Russian infantry. Their difficulty was increased by mistaking a Russian column descending the hill against them for French troops, under which impression they ceased from firing, until an overwhelming volley from their opponents convinced them of their mistake. But the check was only momentary; the Duke of Cambridge had crossed the river, and arrived in time to support them, while a splendid charge of the foot-guards under Major-general Bentinck gained possession of the earthwork.

The heat of battle had now reached its height; the tug of war was equal on both sides, when the Highland brigade under Major-general Sir Colin Campbell advanced up the high ground to the left, in co-operation with the guards, and General Pennefather's brigade connected with the right of the light division. The conduct of these plaided warriors was worthy of their well-established fame. They drew up as if they had been ruled by machinery; at the signal to move, they marched at charging step into the hottest of the fire; their destructive volleys and onward progress were heard far in advance of their companions; and wherever the fire was heaviest during the whole of that eventful day, their deeds and bold bearing were marked and admired. Before their on-

set and that of the light division, the Russians were driven from their choice position which they had defended with so much obstinacy. But two solid squares still kept their ground, and would have tried the courage of our exhausted troops, had not two guns, by order of Lord Raglan, been placed on a commanding point, and brought to bear against them, by the fire of which the squares were torn asunder, and scattered over the hills. Flight indeed was soon becoming general among the Russians, notwithstanding the attempts of their officers to check them; and where they tried to rally, it was only to be driven back with fresh loss before the resistless progress of the British, who continued their advance, until the broken ranks of their opponents were mingled *pêle mêle* with their defeated left wing that was pursued by the victorious French, and their centre, which was fast withdrawing from the contest. The Russian cavalry, that had behaved indifferently during the action, now interposed, and the enemy, although so completely beaten over the whole field of battle, conducted their retreat in order, so that only two of their guns were left as trophies to the conquerors. Such was the battle of Alma, that lasted three hours, during two of which the British were engaged, although they had been eleven hours under arms. Of the numbers engaged on both sides, that of the Russians of every arm did not exceed 40,000, while that of the allies was above 50,000, but of these last, about 20,000 were not in action, and considering the strength of the Russian position, the odds were greatly against them. So signal a victory could not be won without a heavy price, and the allies had 619 killed, and 2860 wounded, of which the greater share fell to the British, who had more serious difficulties to surmount, and a sterner opposition to encounter. The loss of the Russians was estimated at more than 8000; but of prisoners, only 900 were taken, the allied cavalry being kept warily in hand, instead of being let loose in pursuit, on account of the superiority of the Russians in that arm of warfare. The disadvantages under which our troops so bravely conducted themselves, and wrested success into their own possession where it would otherwise have seemed impossible, were thus simply and truthfully set forth in the despatch of Lord Raglan:—"When it is considered that they have suffered severely from sickness during the last two months; that since they landed in the Crimea they have been exposed to the extremes of wet, cold, and heat; that the daily toil to provide themselves with water has been excessive, and that they have been pursued by cholera to the very battle-field, I do not go beyond the truth in declaring that they merit the highest commendation."

A great victory was thus won at Alma—a name that henceforth will be memorable in history. To improve this victory, it was thought that nothing more was needed than to pursue the flying enemy, and complete their destruction—to descend upon Sebastopol—to enter and take possession before the first panic had abated. But for such prompt conclusions, which seemed so natural to civilians, the allies were unfitted by the late sickness with which they had been wasted, by their want of cavalry and gunpowder, by their ignorance of the country in which they were still obliged to grope their way, and by the strength of the enemy, who, though defeated, had already given proof that they were not to be too closely followed with impunity. A more humane and necessary task was adopted of attending to the sick and wounded; and as the village had been burned down, they had to be removed to the ships. The same service was performed for the wounded Russians; and although two days were spent in this charitable duty, the whole could not be overtaken, so that 750 wounded soldiers of the enemy had to be left on shore, in an extemporized hospital, under the care of Dr. Thomson, who devoted himself to this noble self-denying office, and afterwards fell its victim. Thus the march from Alma did not commence till the 23d of September, and its course was to the north side of Sebastopol. On that evening the allied armies halted at Katcha, the alluring valley of which was plentifully studded with vineyards and gardens of rich fruits, which our soldiers, though still continuing to suffer from cholera and dysentery, did not leave untasted. Here, also, the armies were reinforced by the arrival of troops from home. The French to the number of 7000 or 8000, and the British with the Scots Greys and 57th regiment, who were landed at the mouth of the Katcha on the 23d. On the following day (24th) they encamped on the right bank of the Belbek, at about six miles' distance from Katcha. But the plan of attacking Sebastopol upon the northern side had to be abandoned, as it was ascertained that strong batteries had been erected along the north-west of the harbour, and that these, in conjunction with the Star Fort and Fort Constantine would cause both danger and loss to such an attempt. The design was therefore changed for one suggested by Sir John Burgoyne: this was, a prompt flank movement on Balaklava, by which we should turn and neutralize the effect of these batteries, secure a new base of operations instead of that of the Katcha, and distract the enemy by an attack upon a part of the town where they were weakest, and where the danger had been least apprehended. From Belbek the march was accordingly directed towards the south-east on the Black River, al-

though it was a course both difficult and dangerous, and where the enemy, by a spirited attack, especially where our troops rounded the harbour, might have inflicted upon them a heavy loss. At times, too, glimpses of Sebastopol could be caught from the hill-tops in the bright sunshine. During this march, the French commander-in-chief died, worn out by the effects of cholera, by which he had been attacked at Varna, and was succeeded by General Canrobert, his second in command. It was the aim of the allied armies to reach Balaklava as soon as possible, and while hastily pressing onward for this purpose, they all but entered into a fresh battle with the enemy. After his defeat at Alma, Prince Menschikoff had retreated to the valley of the Tchernaya, from which he made a flank movement to Simpheropol; but on the way, his rear-guard fell in with the advancing columns of the allies. It was a most unexpected meeting and an awkward collision, which occurred at a place afterwards well known under the name of Mackenzie's Farm; but it ended in nothing more than the capture of a considerable quantity of baggage, which the Russians were glad to leave behind them in their retreat. On the 26th our armies reached Balaklava, which they forthwith established as their new base of operations, the French occupying the valley to the north of that town, with the sea on their flank, while the English took up their position inland, the post of danger and of honour. As the harbour of Balaklava was too small to hold the fleets of both armies, it was occupied by the British ships, those of France being stationed in Kamiesch Bay, an inlet in Cape Chersonese.

Sebastopol, around which the interest of the war was now to be concentrated, was originally nothing more than an insignificant Tartar village, under the name of Akhtiar, until 1780, when the Empress Catherine commenced, and her successors Alexander and Nicholas carried out, those improvements by which it became a great and beautiful city, and the chief naval arsenal of the Russian empire. It was more than a mile in length and three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and occupied for its site part of the peninsula on the south side of the roadstead of the same name, and rose from the shore in the form of an amphitheatre. Its basin, dry docks, and quays, in the construction of which engineering science had conquered the obstacles or supplied the deficiencies of nature, and its government warehouses and magazines of immense and solid structure, attested the great political importance of the place, and marked it out as a vital part of the empire at which a death-blow might be aimed by a bold enterprising enemy. And adequate to its importance were the numerous strong defences which had been erected for its protec-

tion both by land and sea. On the south, the port was defended by six principal batteries, each mounting from 50 to 190 guns; on the north were four batteries, mounting from 18 to 120 pieces; and besides these were several smaller batteries. Before the war commenced, 850 pieces of artillery guarded the port, of which

350 could be brought to bear upon a single ship entering the bay; but during the siege these were multiplied to an indefinite amount. By land, the original defences were by no means so formidable; but these were improved and multiplied with incredible rapidity as necessity and the changes of attack required, so that, almost daily,



new earthworks were constructed and fresh guns planted; and from these, at the very commencement of the siege, no fewer than 25,000 rounds were fired before our batteries opened upon them. Such was the place which people at home ignorantly imagined would be taken by a *coup de main*! "The position occupied by the enemy," wrote Lord Raglan in one of his despatches, "is not that of a fortress, but rather that of an army in an entrenched camp on very strong ground, where an apparently unlimited number of heavy guns, amply provided with gunners and ammunition, are mounted." It must also be kept in mind that while the allied armies had no covering force to protect them—that while their whole existence was staked upon the alternative of success or defeat—there was within the city an army nearly as numerous as the assailants, and on the outside, another more numerous still under the command of Prince Menschikoff.

On the 7th of October, the investment of Sebastopol was formally commenced by the erection of a line of earthworks on the side of Balaklava; and those of the English being completed by the

12th, were intrusted to the keeping of General Sir Colin Campbell, with the 93d Highlanders, reinforced by 3000 Turkish irregulars. The French works were of fully greater strength and extent, owing to the superior facilities of the ground, and their possession of the Woronzoff road. When the batteries were finished, those of the English overlooked Sebastopol, while those of the French were on a level with its defences. The encampment of the allies was a high bare plateau, sloping gradually on the north to Sebastopol, and on the west to Cape Chersonese; and as they had to retain possession of the harbour of Balaklava, where our shipping was stationed, and from which we were to derive our provisions and military stores, the lines had to be too far extended in that direction, leaving them in many places considerably weakened. On the 17th of October, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, the bombardment of Sebastopol was commenced by the French and British batteries, and by their ships in the harbour, for the attack was to be continued at the same time, and without pause, both by land and sea; but so ready were the Russians for the encounter, that they had anticipated

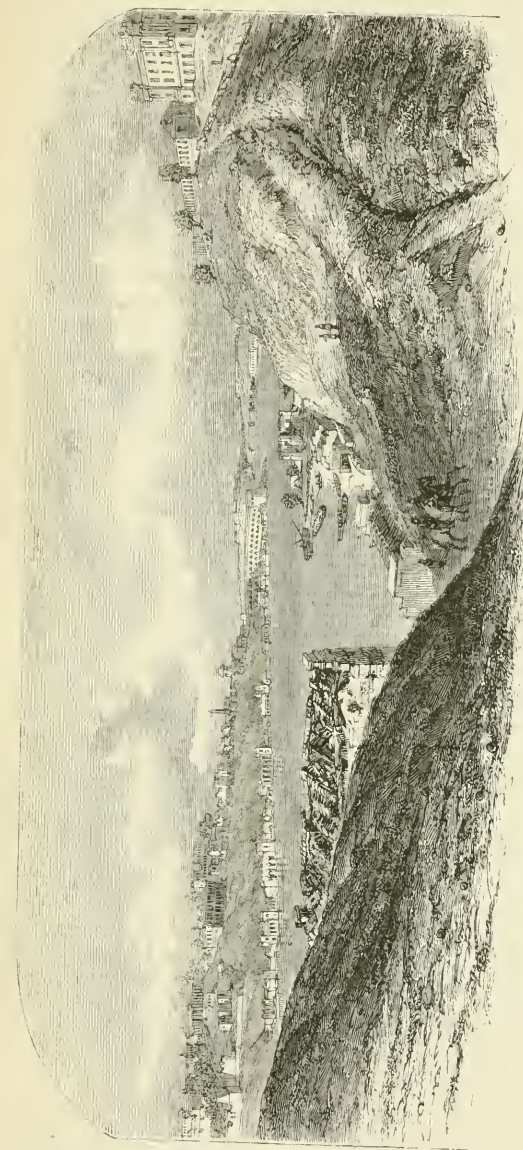
us by half an hour, and with such a cannonade as showed that they were superior to their assailants both in the calibre and number of their guns, which were also admirably served. The

mid-day a still worse explosion occurred in their lines, so that their fire had to be suspended during the rest of the day. On the side of the British the cannonade was maintained incessantly for seven or eight hours against the Redan battery, and the round tower with which it was connected. The latter being built of stone, was the first to be knocked to pieces; but the Redan being of earth, suffered little damage, except an explosion between two and three in the afternoon, by which it was supposed to be silenced for ever, so tremendous was the shock and din; but such of its artillerymen as survived returned to the charge, and kept up their fire with scarcely diminished vigour until night, when the destructive thunder on both sides was closed by mutual consent.

While thus it fared with the land attack, that from the sea was equally unsatisfactory. By agreement, the French squadron commenced by bombarding the Quarantine battery, the Artillery battery, and Fort Alexander on the south side; while the British reserved for their share Fort Constantine, the Telegraph battery, and the Wasp on the north. But as the ships neared their appointed stations, they found difficulties in their way, against which even naval warfare by steam was unable to contend upon equal terms. Although the water was deep enough at the mouth of the harbour, and in the passage leading to the mouth, there was on either side a long shoal, too narrow to allow even one-half of the French and English ships to take up their position near the walls, so that many of the more distant were shut out from action. With a rare instance of self-sacrifice, the Russians had also blocked up the entrance to Sebastopol, by sinking five ships of the line and two frigates, so that a bar was interposed to the close cooperation of the fleet with the armies while both were engaged in action. These impediments, with the shallowness of the water inwards, not only prevented the close approach of the vessels, where

their broadsides would have been most available against the forts, but kept them at such a distance as made them more distinct marks for the enemy's fire. All and each of these obstacles now

THE DOCKYARD CREEK AND TOWN OF SEBASTOPOL. — From Lieut.-colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea.



effects of this superiority against the land attack began to manifest themselves among the French works nearest the town; for after two hours one of their powder magazines blew up, and after

¹ The buildings on the right are the barracks of the Karabel-naia, which are handsome, and of white stone. On the opposite side of the creek is Fort Nicholas; to the left you see the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul; on the extreme left the theatre; underneath, near the water's edge, are government sheds connected with the dockyard. The extreme distance is

the north side of the harbour, held by the Russians; Fort Catherine is close to the water. The bridge by which the Russians retreated to the north side ran from the near end of Fort Nicholas to Fort Catherine. The mouth of the harbour is a little to the left of the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul.—Lieut.-colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea.

told with fearful effect. The roar of the broadsides from the shipping, and the heavy discharges of the forts that answered them, rose high above the deafening din of the cannonade on land, and was continued till evening; and when sunset arrived, at which the fleets retired, they had been so effectually mauled, that eight ships of the line, two English and six French, had to be sent home for repairs. The English had 44 killed and 266 wounded; the French, 30 and 164. Of the Russians, about 500 were killed and wounded; but the result had filled them with confidence, by showing the completeness of their defences, and how successfully they could defend themselves against attacks by sea: not a breach had been made in their batteries, nor a single wall dismantled, although they were marked and dented as thickly with cannon-balls, as buildings with the large rain-drops of a commencing thunder-shower.

After this unsatisfactory attempt, the partial investment of Sebastopol was continued in the form of an ordinary siege, and with various results. The French renewed their batteries, and pushed them somewhat forward in advance, and the English continued their fire on the southern front of Sebastopol; but both they and their allies were deficient, not only in weight of artillery but supplies of gunpowder. Our siege train consisted only of sixty guns, including mortars, all of them decidedly inferior in calibre to those of the Russians; while the French guns, which were of brass, and equally inferior, could make little impression on the strong ramparts and earthworks upon which their fire was brought to bear. So defective were we in these, that to arm our three batteries with their proper complement, we were obliged to strip our ships, and leave them half defenceless. It was unfortunate both for France and England, that to them the Crimean territory had hitherto been a *terra incognita*; and for the soldiers of both countries, that they had been sent forth, under the idea that they had only to summon the town to surrender, or advance upon its walls at the *pas de charge*. These walls were not of pipe-clay painted into an imitation of stone, or ramparts of lath and canvas for a mere melodramatic display, as we had been told that so many of the Russian defences were; and when the tidings reached our army from home, through the English newspapers, that they had already taken Sebastopol, it was like a bitter mockery, intended to aggravate their sufferings, which were already severe enough. Provisions were scarce, and could only be obtained at the dearest rate. Under these privations, combined with wounds, excessive toil, and sickness, disabilities were so prevalent that out of our 35,600 men, not more than 16,500 rank and file were fit for service. And yet—Why had we not taken Sebastopol?

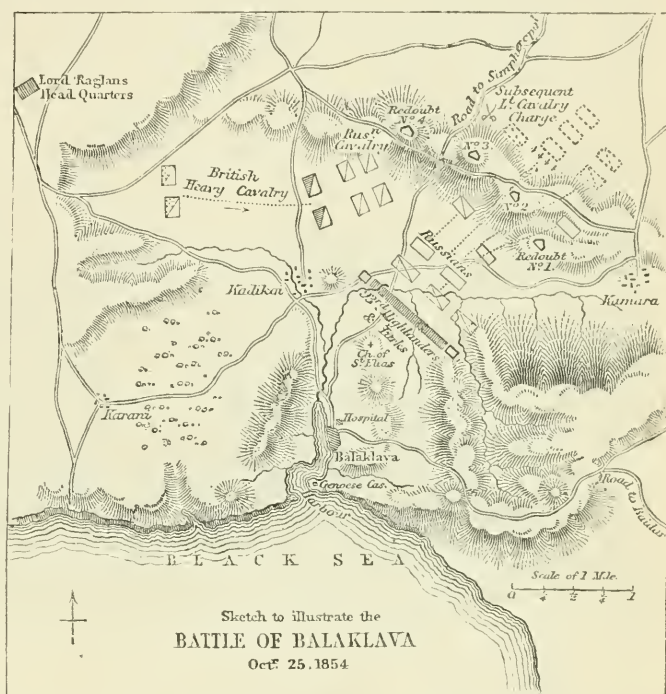
Thus matters continued until the 25th of October, when the Russian army of observation resolved to make a decisive attempt for the relief of the city. It had commenced its movements for this purpose five days earlier, upon the right bank of the Tchernaya; and although rumours were prevalent that its battalions were crossing the river, and had been joined by the force under General Liprandi, newly arrived from the principalities on the Danube, these rumours had been disregarded. The Russian commanders, after a careful exploration for several days, had been confident that they could drive the allied army from their strong position at Balaklava, and place them between their own fire and that of Sebastopol; and they selected that part of our lines upon which the Turks were encamped, as being the weakest. It consisted of four conical hillocks in a right line across the valley beneath, upon which the Turks had thrown up as many earthen redoubts, each being defended by 250 men, and two or three heavy ship guns supplied by our fleet, with a gunner in each fort to work them. Upon this point, and these weakly manned redoubts, the Russians brought up during the night a battery of heavy guns, which were planted upon the opposite ridge; and at day-break, on the morning of the 25th, they opened a heavy fire, but with little effect. It was not here, however, that the chief danger lay, except in diverting the attention of the assailed; for at the eastern end of the valley Liprandi's *corps d'armée* was drawn up in order of battle, having its strong reserve on the Simpheropol road, and soon after, a large body of Russian cavalry advanced steadily down the valley, while a column of their infantry moved along the foot of the hill towards the Turkish redoubt No. 1. On finding themselves attacked in such force, after firing a few rounds the Turks fled in dismay, and were soon followed by those of the redoubts Nos. 2 and 3, who went off in such a hurry, that they did not wait to spike their guns, which were turned against them in their flight. Only the fourth redoubt, which was manned by British soldiers, but most of them invalids, was left unassailed.

Thus far the enemy had succeeded, and the chance of the British lines was perilous in the extreme. The next attack would be upon themselves, for which they were ill provided by the sudden defection of their Turkish allies; and could the Russians but reach the ground overhanging the harbour, our magazines and stores, and also our shipping, would soon be in a blaze. But fortunately a few minutes of time were left to prevent the surprise from being a successful one, for at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, an orderly came at full gallop to the head-quarters of

Sir Colin Campbell, with tidings of the attack on the redoubts. The news was quickly spread abroad, and the troops of both allied armies were speedily set in motion. Sir George Cathcart and the Duke of Cambridge were ordered by Lord Raglan to march their respective divisions, the fourth and first, to the scene of action, while General Canrobert, the French commander-in-chief, sent General Bosquet with his third division to assist the British in holding the valley. As for Balaklava, its defence was promptly looked after by Sir Colin Campbell, who stationed the 93d Highlanders drawn up in line in front of the road leading to the town. And even these preparations, quick and bold though they were, would be scarcely enough for the occasion. Six large masses of Russian infantry were seen marching up the valley in complete order, with a regular line of twenty pieces of artillery in their front; about a mile in advance of them were two batteries of light guns playing upon the redoubts; and behind them, in front of the infantry, were enormous bodies of cavalry. It was a fearful advance, in which war seemed to assume all its grandeur and solemnity as well as its terrors, and all its promise of devastation and victory.

The Turks, when they had been driven from the redoubts, had fled towards the Highlanders, upon the flanks of whom they rallied and formed themselves into companies. The Russian cavalry advancing in pursuit, perceived, when they had gained the hill across the valley, that the Highlanders were drawn up at the distance of half a mile ready to receive them, upon which they checked their advance until squadron after squadron had come up to join them. On being reinforced to the number of about 3500 men, they made a terrible and general charge towards Balaklava. It seemed as if nothing could resist that torrent: the Turks fired a second volley, and again fled; and down came the whole inundation of lancers, dragoons, hussars, and artillery upon the 93d, who instead of being thrown into squares, were only drawn up in a line of not more than two deep to receive them. It looked as if that coming charge of cavalry would snap the line asunder like a thread, and the onlookers held their breath in suspense; but before the enemy had

come within 250 yards, a close volley from the Highland rifles emptied the saddles of the assailants by scores, and brought the whole body to a sudden pause: they wavered, opened their files to right and left, and fled in fear of another such destructive welcome. "Bravo, Highlanders; well done!" rang from the excited spectators over the field. On perceiving that the intention of the Russians was to attack Balaklava, Lord



Raglan had ordered out the Scots Greys and Inniskillen dragoons, under Lord Lucan, and scarcely had they moved from their quarters, than they saw the advance of a large body of the enemy's cavalry. It was a bold resolution to attack them, for their opponents were evidently the *élite* of the Russian horse, and outnumbered them by more than four to one. At the prospect of that ominous meeting there was a pause of expectation and wonder among the allied armies, and both officers and soldiers gazed at this awful preparation as for a gladiatorial spectacle. The Russians came on in confidence down the hill, for they despised the fewness of their opponents; but it was only for a moment: the Scots Greys and Inniskillens charged their centre, which they broke right through; they plunged into the mass, where they disappeared; and "God help them, they are lost!" was the cry that burst from many a sympathizing spectator. But again they re-appeared, although with diminished numbers, and charged the second

line of the enemy as boldly as they had done the first. It was too much: the Russians were rallying, closing upon them, and might have overwhelmed them by the weight of numbers, when the 4th and 5th dragoon guards came down to their assistance, scattered with a single charge the Russian first line before it could form anew, and completed the defeat which the Inniskillens and Greys had commenced. At this triumphant close of the deadly drama, there was clapping of hands, shouting, and waving of caps among the spectators, who would gladly have shared in all the dangers of such a contest, to partake of its triumphs. It was most gratifying also to find that this chivalrous enterprise cost so little, for not more than four or five men were killed and thirty wounded among the victors of this unequal encounter.

And now came the most mournful, yet most brilliant episode of this eventful engagement. One of the four captured redoubts had been recovered from the enemy. On seeing a stir in the second of these, Lord Raglan imagined that the Russians were removing the captured guns from it, and with a view of preventing them, he sent a written order to Lord Lucan, the commander of our cavalry, to advance, and pursue the enemy in their retreat. The order was conveyed by Captain Nolan of the 15th hussars, one of the most gallant, noble-hearted, and accomplished officers in the British service. But during the short ride of Captain Nolan, such a change had occurred in the Russian movements as Lord Raglan could not have foreseen, and through which his order, that might have been at first of easy execution, was now changed into one of extreme rashness, if not utter impossibility. Nolan delivered his order—a written order—and the Earl of Lucan, notwithstanding the altered state of affairs, had no alternative but implicit military obedience. He might indeed have interpreted it according to the change of circumstances, and taken upon himself the responsibility of proving that compliance was impossible; and even this was gently hinted at in the despatch of Lord Raglan:—"From some misconception of the instruction to advance, the lieutenant-general considered that he was bound to attack *at all hazards*." As it was, Lord Lucan ordered Major-general the Earl of Cardigan to move forward with the light brigade of cavalry. And to overtake and charge what?—not an encumbered corps in hasty retreat, but an army drawn up to receive them. It was the main body of Liprandi's *corps d'armée* who were waiting them at the bottom of the valley, with the batteries of the two redoubts in their advance; with an additional battery which they had established on the Tchernaya ridge; and with the steep sides of the hills that flanked the valley

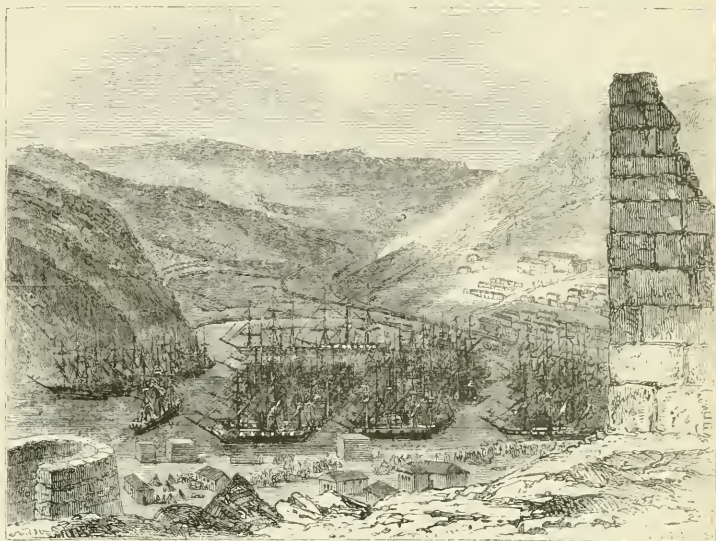
lined with riflemen supported by strong columns of infantry. And an army thus advantageously posted was to be attacked by 600 British light horse! Officers and men saw that such an onset was certain destruction, but how could it be avoided? The order of the commander-in-chief was imperative in the following words:—"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns; troops of horse artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." "Forward!" was the word, and the light brigade began to charge through that valley—the Valley of the Shadow of Death. At first, they were accompanied by the heavy brigade; but the latter, after they had rode a little way, were halted as a support beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, and the light brigade went on alone. On their left flank, and considerably in advance, as leader of the charge, was Captain Nolan, the bearer of the fatal order; but while he cheered his gallant followers, his arm suddenly fell, and his bold shout was exchanged into a death-shriek; for the fragment of a Russian shell had struck him to the heart, and he was dead in an instant. Still onward went the light brigade, increasing their speed and impetus as they neared the enemy; but at the distance of 1200 yards, the fire of thirty cannon was opened upon them; the balls made fearful gaps as they swept through their ranks; and it was with greatly diminished numbers, though unabated spirit, that they reached the steel rampart through the heavy rolling fire of the hostile infantry. Without a moment's halt they plunged into this fatal volcano, and were hid in a moment from the sight of their friends, who wondered at their heroism, and gave them up for lost; but still pressing on, they bore down and cut through the ranks of the enemy in their advance, until they had swept through the whole of that army from front to rear. The French and English who gazed from the ridge, had been astonished at such a charge of cavalry upon infantry, and still more, to see them emerge at the rear of their opponents, waving their red swords in triumph. But the fire of the batteries, the thick volleys of musketry, and the desperate hand-to-hand struggle with which every step of their progress had been accompanied, told fearfully upon their numbers: many a horse was masterless, and many who still survived, reeled wounded in their saddles. But there was no time for pause or reflection: they must return; and in returning, they must confront anew the fiery ordeal through which they had already passed. They wheeled, and re-entered that gap of death, which once more closed upon them, and from which they never would have escaped, had not an opportune res-

cue arrived. We have already mentioned that the heavy brigade, the heroes of the earlier part of the battle, had been drawn out as a support to the squadron employed in the charge; but they had been kept back, as it was soon perceived that their entrance into action would only deepen our loss. For such service, light cavalry was the most available, and this necessary aid was promptly afforded by our gallant allies, the French. Seeing the danger of our light brigade, General Bosquet sent his corps of chasseurs d'Afrique to silence the battery on the Tchernaya ridge, by the fire of which our troops would have to pass in their return. And most gallantly was this good office performed by a single squadron of the corps of chasseurs, which was all that could be spared to charge the Russian artillery. Animated by the spirit and example of those to whose rescue they so readily hurried, this handful dashed through and over every obstacle, and swept the battery of its defenders, maintaining their position against a heavy cannonade, until the relics of our light brigade had once more emerged from their deadly struggle. It was this generous

interposition which in all probability saved them from entire destruction. But of the 600 of our gallant heroes who had entered into this most unequal and perilous encounter, little more than 200 returned. Yet, although it was a rash mistake, or complication of mistakes, that sent these brave men to certain death, they did not die in vain. It supported to the very height the prestige of British valour, which, after so long a peace throughout Europe, was shown to have suffered no diminution or decay. It daunted the subsequent efforts of the Russians, by teaching them with what kind of enemy they had now to deal. And better than all, when a deed of brave devotedness will be required of British soldiers, their arms will be nerved and their hearts animated by the narratives that have been handed down to them of this terrible charge of Balaklava.

The battle was now ended so far as actual fighting was concerned. The Russians, having failed in the object of their attack, retired to their old position; while the allied armies, satisfied

with this advantage, gave them no further molestation. As for the four redoubts, two of which were still in possession of the enemy, but might easily have been recovered, it was resolved to leave the whole in their possession, as the Turks had shown themselves unable to defend them, and as their occupation demanded too great an extension of the British lines. It was judged more expedient to withdraw from that range of heights, and to concentrate our forces immediately in front of the narrow valley leading to the port and into Balaklava, and on the precipitous heights



THE HARBOUR OF BALAKLAVA, from the Genoese Castle.
From a drawing by James Newlands, C.E. (March 24, 1855)

on the right—having thus a narrower and easier line of defence, and keeping Balaklava and the communication with it open by the westerly and southerly heights behind our camp. Here our troops were to be reinforced by a strong body of seamen from the British fleet, and if need should occur, by some French regiments. As for the Turkish troops, who had no longer the redoubts to maintain, they were to be converted into labourers, and employed in constructing breastworks and defences, which, when completed, would inclose and secure our occupation of Balaklava.

In the meantime, there was glee and triumph in Sebastopol, when the guns captured from our redoubts were drawn into the city; it was reported that the army without had gained a great victory over the allies, of which these were the trophies; and there was ringing of bells and firing of cannon to celebrate the event. But this was not enough, and the garrison resolved to complete the chastisement of their foes by a sally from the town. Accordingly, on the following

morning (the 26th of October), several columns of infantry, accompanied by artillery and cavalry, composing a force of between 6000 and 7000 men, were seen to issue from Sebastopol. At first it was thought that they were going to join Liprandi's corps, by the road through the Inkermann valley; but instead of proceeding forward, they suddenly turned to the right, ascended the hills, and appeared on the ridge which overlooked the camp of the second division commanded by Sir de Laey Evans. But he had been expecting some such attack, and was prepared to encounter it. The Russians came rapidly down from the hill, and suddenly fell upon the pickets of the 30th and 49th regiments; but this brave handful opposed such a resistance to their advance, that Sir de Laey had time to draw up his lines in advance of the camp; and when the sound of the enemy's cannonade was heard, he was reinforced by the Duke of Cambridge with the brigade of guards, and by General Bosquet with five French battalions. At the same time, eighteen guns were placed in position, which opened a deadly fire upon the coming enemy; and after their artillery was silenced and driven off the field, the cannonade was directed against their infantry. This unexpected reception staggered them, and on the charge of our regiments with the bayonet, their rout was complete; they were chased over the ridges, and down towards the head of the bay, while our soldiers pursued them with such ardour that for some time it was difficult to recal them. After the Russians had lost 600 in killed and wounded by this inglorious attempt, they were fain to hurry back to the shelter of the town. This success was the more glorious to the victors, as it was by the second division alone, who scarcely mustered 1200, that the whole was achieved, the reinforcements of guards and French battalions who came to their assistance having taken no share in the encounter.

The siege of Sebastopol still continued to be pressed with vigour, and with alternate changes of failure and success; and as fast as a battery was dismantled or wall thrown down, fresh earthworks were constructed, and new guns mounted, while the obstinacy of the defence remained unabated. Far indeed from taking the city, it was much that the allies could maintain their ground, with such formidable fortresses opposed to them on one side, and so strong an army encamped against them on the other; and though our troops had won honour in every encounter in the field, these battles had been attended with no practical results. Thus matters continued until the close of October, when the confidence of the Russians was so increased, that they hoped nothing less than to raise the siege, and annihilate their antagonists. For this

important crisis, indeed, they had been for some time in preparation. Sebastopol although besieged had never been invested, and from Perekop, the base of Russian operations, which was perfectly open, the town was reinforced with troops, artillery, and provisions. At the same time, their forces which had been set free by the Austrian occupation of the Danubian provinces were conveyed to the Crimea, and 50,000 men were collected and impatient for action upon the heights of Inkermann. The time had arrived when the besieging armies were to be crushed between the resistless close of the city and its defenders from without. Such was the calculation of Prince Menschikoff, the Russian commander, and from the heights of Inkermann he wrote the following confident letter to the czar:—"A terrible calamity impends over the invaders of your dominions. In a few days, they will perish by the sword, or be driven into the sea. Let your majesty send your sons here, that I may render up to them untouched the priceless treasure which your majesty has intrusted to my keeping." These hopes obtained full sympathy in the palace of St. Petersburg, and the emperor's two sons, the Archdukes Nicholas and Michael, were forthwith sent to the Crimea, to witness the promised downfall, and be invested with the honours of the victory.

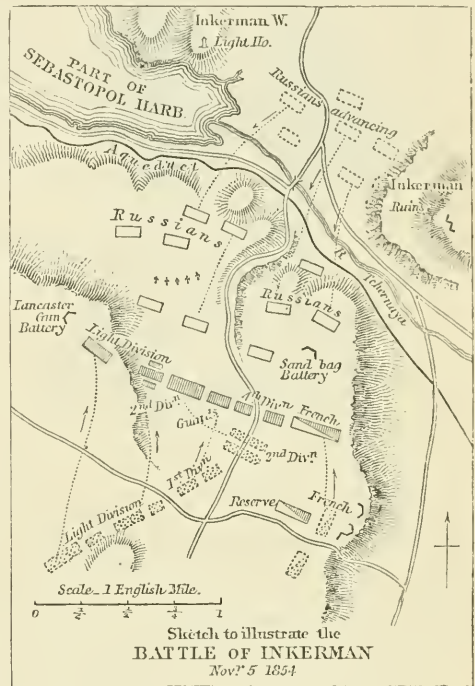
On the morning of the 5th of November, and at a very early hour, after a rainy night, and while the air was still darkened with vapour, the ringing of church bells and singing of psalms were heard in Sebastopol. This however excited little attention, as such sounds were not only the usual prelude of a military enterprise, but also the accompaniment of those numerous saints' days and festivals for which the Greek church is distinguished. But at a still earlier hour, other sounds might have been heard unconnected with religious worship. It was the low creak and rumble of heavy carriage-wheels along the valley, and it caught the vigilant ears of one of the sentries belonging to an outlying picket of the light division on the heights above. Had the man but given the alarm, the battle of Inkermann would have filled one of the brightest pages of French and English history; but thinking that it was nothing more than the usual passage of carts or waggons going to the town, he made no mention of it until after the battle. In this unsuspected manner, enormous masses of Russian troops and parks of artillery crept in darkness and silence up the rugged sides of the heights over the valley of Inkermann, and established themselves upon the undefended flank of the second division, whom they were soon to rouse with a deadly awakening.

This position, occupied by Sir de Laey Evans, was the part of the allied encampment which

the Russians, from its importance and insecurity, had been always the most desirous to carry, and it was for this that the experiment had been made in the previous battle of Balaklava. That attempt, indeed, had been frustrated, but it had served their purpose so far as to make them fully acquainted with the defects of the position, and to suggest better modes of assailing it. "It must be observed (so writes our best historical authority of this war) that Sir de Lacy Evans had long been aware of the insecurity of this portion of our position, and had repeatedly pointed it out to those whose duty it was to guard against the dangers which threatened us. It was the only ground where we were exposed to surprise, for a number of ravines and unequal curves in the slope of the hill towards the valley lead up to the crest and summit, against the adverse side of which our right flank was resting without guns, entrenchments, abatis, or outlying defence of any kind. Every one admitted the truth of the representations addressed to the authorities on this subject; but indolence or a sense of false security led to indifference and procrastination. A battery was thrown up of sand-bags, gabions, and fascines, on the slope of the hill over Inkermann, on the east, but no guns were mounted there, for Sir de Lacy Evans, thinking that two guns in such a position, without any works to support them, would only invite attack and capture, caused them to be removed as soon as they had silenced the Light-house battery." This was but one of a series of improvident and unprofessional neglects which characterized our proceedings during the whole campaign, and for which we were now to pay a heavy penalty.

When the first faint dawn of light began to struggle through the gloom of that inclement morning of the 5th of November, some of our soldiers saw a body of Russians apparently unarmed on a hill above the western end of Sebastopol harbour, who pretended that they were deserters anxious to surrender themselves; but as soon as our picket advanced to receive them, an ambush darted upon them from behind the rocks, and made the whole party and their officer prisoners. Having thus prevented the alarm from being given, the Russians descended, but were recognized by the inner pickets, who threw themselves across their path, and the sound of firing that commenced gave warning to the regiments of the second division, who received the Russians with destructive volleys of their Menié rifles. But the Russian masses, unchecked by this resistance, came rolling onward like a tempest; their artillery opened upon the British from the ridge on which they had planted them, and at the same instant were seconded by the

cannons of Sebastopol, and of the ships lying within the harbour—while against these, the second division had neither adequate means for answer, nor places of cover. On front, flank, and rear they were plying with a heavy cannonade, seconded by clouds of skirmishers, who seemed to multiply at every point. To add to their



difficulties, their gallant and skilful commander, Sir de Lacy Evans, was stretched upon a bed of sickness; but happily, Brigadier-general Pennefather, upon whom the command had fallen, showed himself equal to the trial, while Sir de Lacy, sick though he was, hurried from his bed to the field, and although unable to resume the command, could animate his soldiers by his presence, and assist their leader with his counsels. The second division, that could not have long borne up against the overwhelming torrent, was quickly joined by the brigade of guards, who were nearest to the first point of attack; and foremost in the rescue were the grenadiers and Scots fusiliers, who hurried forward at the sound of the first shot. But it was around the Two-gun battery on the British right that the Russian attack was chiefly concentrated. In itself it was apparently worthless, for it was only made of sand-bags and fascines, and the guns had been removed; but the command which its occupation would give of the British position, made the enemy resolute to possess it at whatever cost—a resolution which was equally matched by that of our troops to re-

tain it. A picket of the 55th made it good, until they were driven out by an overwhelming attack; but the grenadiers and Scots fusiliers rushing forward, re-captured this Two-gun battery, as it was generally named, drove the Russians down the side of the steep hill, on a small spur of which the battery was planted, and being joined by the Coldstreams, made arrangements for holding it out to the last. Their resolution was to be tried; the Russians returned in greater numbers to the attack, and column after column ascended the steep, got upon the spur, and bore down with irresistible weight upon the right flank of the guards, whose numbers were greatly diminished and their gunpowder well-nigh exhausted; but they fought with their bayonets, and even with stones, which they hurled against the enemy, and being slightly reinforced with men and ammunition, they once more drove the enemy from the spur, losing two-thirds of their number in the effort. Never was any spot of a battle-field more fiercely contested or more gallantly maintained; it was known on both sides that the possession of this point would decide the issue of the battle, and during four hours and a half, the struggle was continued around it almost without intermission and with various fortunes, although the enemy in almost every case were as five or six to one of the British. They were also frantic with copious doses of brandy, which had been served out to them before the battle, and animated with fanaticism, having been taught by the emperor's proclamations, and the lessons of their priests, to regard this as a holy war in which Heaven was upon their side. But the guards, although repeatedly assailed and repulsed, as often returned and drove back the enemy, being resolved to perish to a man rather than abandon their post. And to this it would have come at last, had not fresh French troops arrived from General Bosquet's division to their aid. These allies took possession of the contested ground, and renewed with every promise of success the defence of the battery, upon which the relics of what had once been our gay and gallant guards resigned their charge, and drew up upon the rear of the right flank of our second division.

While the right of our position was so imperilled, a trial equally dangerous was going on upon the left, which was placed on the hill above the harbour, and separated by a deep ravine from the position occupied by our guards. Favour'd by the ground that was broken and covered with brushwood, clouds of Russian skirmishers advanced, followed by heavy columns, and accompanied with the fire of their well-served artillery; and the troops of the second division, although joined by a brigade of the first, were borne back by the weight of the advance, until the enemy had

reached the very centre of the second's encampment. Here ensued a desperate hand-to-hand struggle, in which broken regiments were rallied, and guns captured and recaptured, but where numbers were likely to give victory to the Russians, animated as they were with a resolution to win or die—for had not a promise been sent to the emperor in their name, that they would preserve for him his fair city of Sebastopol? And were not his sons even now the onlookers and witnesses of their deeds? While the British positions were thus all but carried, by which the French and English armies would have been equally crushed or forced to surrender, it might be asked why our allies had been so slow in interposing, when their own safety was so deeply at stake. But no blame of remissness or want of cordiality can be attached to our gallant partners, who had their own difficulties to encounter. As might easily be supposed, it was part of the plan of the Russian generals to keep the French fully occupied, while the British position was assailed, even though the demonstration should be nothing more than a feigned attack. Accordingly, as soon as the first attack in the morning had been made upon our pickets, Liprandi's *corps d'armée* had crossed the valley of the Tchernaya, advanced to the foot of the heights, and commenced a fire upon the French, while they were opening a cannonade upon the rear of our lines. Judging that within this range the whole battle was to be comprised, General Bosquet had sent two battalions of his light infantry to aid in the defence of the British left, and after this was done, he thought that the danger in that quarter was over, more especially as the fire upon the rear of our lines had begun to slacken. But this change had only occurred to give time for the assault upon the British front, upon which the cannonade was commenced with a violence that taught him the real place and full amount of the danger. He boldly resolved to treat General Liprandi's advance as a mere feint; to leave his post for a time almost undefended, and hurry with the bulk of his troops to the spot where the call was most urgent. It was a fortunate resolution, and its magnanimity was well rewarded by the result, which was nothing less than the deliverance of both armies from ruin.

The first of the French who arrived to the rescue of the nearly overborne British were two troops of horse artillery and one field battery, which came up at full speed; these were followed by a regiment of Zouaves and one of Indigenes or Arabs, and finally Bosquet's troops of the line advanced with steady step. On the other hand, the Russians were equally on the alert, and one division after another came ra-

pidly through the ravines in the rear of our second division. The feints and manœuvres were thus terminated, the conflict had settled down into a single locality, and all that remained was a stand-up fight of regiment to regiment and man to man, where strength, courage, and endurance would decide the issue. It was well on such an occasion, fearfully outnumbered as they were, that the French and British were fighting side by side, each the witnesses of the other's prowess, and emulous to excel in this trial against a common foe. It was a strange and new war-spectacle, in which masses, distinguished by their several military costumes, glittered and shifted hither and thither like the gleaming flakes of the *aurora borealis*, and in which the steady advance and unbroken front of the British masses were contrasted with the apparently irregular but nimble and effective movements, the sudden approach and tiger-like spring of the Algerian Arabs and Zouaves. It was not to be wondered at if the Russians were bewildered by such various modes of resistance and onset—were borne down or compelled to recoil—and were at last fain to make a hasty retreat through the ravines from which they had issued. Over the whole field their columns were at last in full retreat, like waves that had spent their force, leaving behind them a wreck of the dead and dying at every receding step. They were beaten indeed, but still not subdued—slowly, reluctantly, and steadily they retired, while so careful were they of their military honour that they left not a single gun behind them; even the fragments of their gun-carriages they carefully gathered up under the heavy fire of our artillery and carried off with them, as if they would not leave a single trophy to the victors. It was well for them that the allies had no efficient cavalry to follow up their success, by which the retreat might have been changed into an utter rout; and more fortunate still that the Russian artillery upon the ridge still maintained its position to cover their retreating columns, and check the advance of the allies. The hand-to-hand fight was thus changed into a distant cannonade, in which fortune might have yet changed sides; for the Russian guns were greatly superior both in numbers and calibre to those of the allies, and served with admirable skill and perseverance. Their chief fire was upon the position of our second division, and with deadly effect, when Lord Raglan ordered two eighteen-pounders of our siege train to be brought up. It seemed all but impossible to drag such heavy pieces over the rough ground, and through the miry tracks that interposed, but the arduous feat was ably and quickly performed by the united strength of a multitude of men and horses; and the guns being placed in

position, their shot crashed through the Russian batteries, sweeping off their men and dismounting their guns at every discharge. They were obliged to retire their artillery to the top of



ZOUAVES.—From the Illustrated London News.

the hill, and finally to limber them up and withdraw them, leaving their retreating columns below to the fierce pursuit of the Indigenes and Zouaves.

Such were the chief movements of this victory of Inkermann; and they were thus briefly and distinctly described by General Canrobert on the same evening, in the account which he drew up:—"A great portion of the Russian army, favoured by the night and the fog, was enabled to establish itself, with powerful artillery, upon the heights which form the extreme right of our position. Two English divisions sustained an unequal fight with the invincible solidity which we know to be the characteristic of our allies, while a part of the Bosquet division, conducted by its worthy chief, came up to their support, and rushed upon the enemy with a boldness and intelligence to which I here render forcible homage. Eventually driven back into the valley of the Tchernaya, the enemy left upon the ground more than 4000 of his men killed or wounded, and carried away at least as many more during the battle." But while the main conflict was going on, other subsidiary attempts were made by the Russians against the allies, each of which had the relief of Sebastopol for its object. One of these, when the fight was at the hottest, was an attempt of General Soimonoff, with a large body of infantry and artillery, to turn the flank of the British, while our regiments were all but defeated in front. For this purpose, he ascended

the valley to the right of the five-gun battery, but was met mid-way by the first brigade of the light division and a small body of marines, under General Codrington, upon which Soimonoff, finding himself anticipated, and thinking his attempt not worth the risk, withdrew his troops from the encounter. Another and a more important movement was made about the same time from the town itself. A sortie of 5000 Russians, under cover of the mist, was made from Sebastopol, for the purpose of attacking the extreme left of the French lines, and had succeeded in capturing two French batteries by surprise before their object was discovered. But here they were attacked by General Forey, who commanded in that quarter, and after a short but sanguinary encounter were routed and driven back to the town. Their plan was well conceived, but for its success a greater force of men and artillery was needed, in which case they might have retained the two captured batteries, and seriously endangered the safety of the whole French left. But, indeed, it is difficult to give a special and scientific account of the whole of this battle of Inkermann: of manœuvring there was scarcely any, in consequence of the ruggedness of the ground, which did not permit such strategetic operations; and among the numerous ridges and ravines a multitude of encounters were going on simultaneously, which could only be heard by the fire of artillery and musketry, while the combatants themselves were hidden from the view of the commanders on both sides, and compelled to struggle upon their own account. Hence it is that this great affair of Inkermann has been called "the soldiers' battle." And well did it display the stuff of which the soldiers of the warring nations was made, and attest the supe-

riority of those of Britain and France above those of every other country. Even yet, however, they might have failed, and failed not ingloriously, considering the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Russians, but for several circumstances which enabled 8000 English and 6000 French to maintain a close fight against an enemy at least 50,000 strong, and in the end to prove victorious. These, according to the Russian statements, were the extensive use of the Menié rifle among the French and British regiments, the failure of Soimonoff's attempt upon the British flank, and the dilatory arrival of the Russian columns, that came up separately instead of simultaneously to battle, thus giving their opponents both leisure and warning for resistance. But more than these was the insufficient feint to occupy Bosquet, that ought to have been of a more formidable character, so as to prevent him from coming to the aid of the British, by which the fortune of the day was principally decided. But even allowing for every deduction, this victory of Inkermann was a glorious event for the united arms of France and Britain. It struck dismay into the heart of Russian ambition and presumption, and left the allies to turn their undivided efforts against the ramparts of Sebastopol. These results, important though they were at the time, may perhaps be as nothing compared with the prospective advantages that may accrue from it. If it permanently impresses the two lately reconciled nations with a conviction of their power when combined to aid the feeble, repress the strong and insolent, and advance the welfare of humanity at large, the world will have good cause to rejoice that such a battle was fought, and that such soldiers were the conquerors.

CHAPTER XIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854—1855.

VICTORIA.

The encampment of the allied armies visited by a storm—Its wasteful effects by land and sea—Diseases and sufferings of our troops before Sebastopol—Their inadequate provisions and supplies—Exertions of benevolence at home in their behalf—Necessity of aid for the sick in the hospitals—Arrival of Miss Nightingale and the nurses—Their effectual services among the sick and wounded—Arrival of more nurses—Opening of the campaign of 1855—Strength of Sebastopol—Weakness of the army encamped against it—Great number of the sick and wounded—Death of the Czar Nicholas—Negotiation under his successor for peace—It is ineffectual—Unsuccessful attack of the Russians on Eupatoria—They take possession of a favourable ground in front of the Malakoff—Establishment of a fort and rifle-pits upon it—Contests between the Russians and allies for possession of the rifle pits—Fresh bombardment of Sebastopol by the allies—Its failure—Discontent at home from the delays in the siege—A new French commander-in-chief appointed—Expedition of the allies to Kertch—Destruction of Russian stores—Fresh attack upon Sebastopol—Its success upon the outworks—A decisive attack upon the town resolved—Plan of the attack—Fatal mistake at the commencement—Its disastrous failure—Particulars of the French attack—Failure of the British attack on the Redan—The British obtain possession of the Cemetery—Effects of this failure on the health of Lord Raglan—His death—He is succeeded by General Simpson—Attempt of the covering army under General Liprandi to raise the siege—Its attack upon the allied army at Tchernaya—Battle of Tchernaya—Defeat of the Russians—Decisive attempt of the allies upon Sebastopol—Capture of the Malakoff by the French—Failure of the British to take the Great Redan—Causes of the failure—The Russians resolve to evacuate Sebastopol—Heroism of their purpose—Their success in effecting it—They destroy their defences and military stores at their departure—Entrance of the allies into Sebastopol—Scenes of havoc and suffering in the town—Picture of the Russian sick and wounded in an hospital—The evacuating army entrenches itself in the neighbourhood—Successful expeditions of the allies by sea from the Crimea—Explosion of their gunpowder magazine—Symptoms of approaching peace.



AFTER the battle of Inkermann, the Russian army was so appalled by the unexpected and humbling result that it made no further hostile demonstration; while the allies, on their part, suspended active operations until they should be reinforced by troops that were expected from France and Britain. They were proud, and with justice, of the signal victory they had gained, and felt as if no resistance of the enemy could impede their further career. But foes were at hand which they had not taken into account, and obstacles to be encountered against which arms are unavailing. The rage of the elements and the wasteful attacks of disease were now to test their powers of endurance, neutralize the effects of their success, and keep them wistfully lingering before those walls and battlements which they had expected to enter as conquerors.

On the night of the 13th of November, a furious storm swept over Constantinople, unroofing the highest buildings of the city, and levelling three out of the six splendid minarets of the Grand Mosque of Sultan Achmet. On the following morning, the tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven o'clock, and in less than two hours it had wrecked eleven, and disabled six transports belonging to the allied army, among which was the magnificent steam-ship *Prince*, which was totally lost, with a cargo valued at £500,000, consisting of

clothing and provisions for our soldiers during the winter, and warlike stores for carrying on the siege. In the harbour of Balaklava, which was thronged with shipping, vessels were dragging their anchors, and running foul of each other, while thirty transports laden with ammunition and stores, that had been driven from the harbour, or had attempted to stand out to sea, were dashed against the neighbouring rocks. Nor were matters better with the French shipping at Eupatoria: eighteen vessels were wrecked or dismasted at the mouth of the Katcha; and to add to the horrors of the scene, bands of mounted Cossacks were busily plunging their horses through the surf and foam in quest of plunder, firing into the stranded vessels, and making prisoners of those whom the tempest had spared. In these calamitous wrecks, it was supposed that more than a thousand lives were lost, and about £2,000,000 worth of property in clothing, provision, and military stores, which the armies needed for the winter, that threatened to be a severe one. The calamities at sea were almost rivalled by the sufferings on shore. Not only the common soldiers, but even the general officers had as yet no better accommodation for the winter than their frail, scanty coverings of tents; and in these, 8500 British soldiers—hungry, half-starved, and overwrought, the relics of what had been a noble army—had been wistfully looking forward to the arrival of the promised supplies from home. But the

tent-poles were snapped asunder like reeds; the tents themselves were levelled like grass before the sweep of the scythe, or borne away on the hurricane; waggons were overturned; while men and horses were rolling over each other in heaps, or clinging to the earth, to escape being flung down the ravines or into the sea. To add to these grievances by destroying every chance of rest or covering, the raging tempest was mixed with rain and snow, and every portion of ground was soon converted into a mire where every one staggered

ankle-deep in mud. Nor was the town of Balaklava in better condition, or more fitted for comfort or shelter: its narrow streets were turned into canals of mud, among which men of all nations—English, French, Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, Italians, Maltese, Tartars, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Spaniards—were seen huddled together, or attempting to flounder along, all involved in a common misery, although expressing it in a most multifarious polyglot; while of the houses towards which they struggled, many



ENTRANCE TO BALAKLAVA HARBOUR.—Drawn by J. S. Prout from a sketch by James Newlands, C.E.

were roofless, several utterly destroyed, and the best of them so crowded as to be utterly undurable. When the strong and healthy were thus humbled, struck down, and reduced to helplessness, miserable was the condition of the sick and wounded; for the tents and wooden structures that had been set up for hospitals were swept away in the general desolation, and their inmates in many cases left to perish, because none could come to their relief. Seldom indeed has a victorious army been so visited and so chastised. It was a bitter caricature of military glory, to which human invention could scarcely have added a single touch.

This day of storm and terror was the commencement of a dismal season, in which rain, wind, and a black leaden sky predominated; provisions daily became more scanty and unpalatable, and the tents more incapable of giving shelter to their shivering and sickening inmates. To add to the discomforts of our diminished troops, the greater part of their principal officers were either laid up, or on their way home, the victims of those maladies by which the common soldiers were so mercilessly decimated. So scanty, indeed, were now the supplies of provisions, that the troops, although exhausted by night-work and watching, and by hard labour in the trenches, had to be put upon short allowance. Under such circumstances, it was natural that

the cholera should revisit them; and on the night of the 28th of November it made its appearance, carrying off scarcely less than sixty victims daily. How an army so circumstanced could continue to exist between two such dangers as the foe within the city and those without, both on the alert for its destruction, was marvellous; but the easy attempt to crush it was not made; and with but a few occasional flashes of cannon from the ramparts, or skirmishes and surprises in the trenches, in which few lives were lost, the eventful year 1854 was ended, and Sebastopol remained untaken. When December closed, there were 3500 sick in the British camp before Sebastopol, their illness chiefly occasioned by excessive labour, exposure to inclement weather, and want of the necessaries of life, while a still greater number were in the hospitals on the Bosphorus. And yet, there was no parsimoniousness in the supplies voted by the British parliament, or the contributions of private benevolence; and not only the necessaries and comforts, but even the luxuries of life had been sent, and still continued to be sent out to the Crimea, far more than enough to provide for such an army. But the science of victualling an army—the most important, but perhaps the most difficult and complex in modern warfare—had been forgot since the days of Waterloo, and had to be learned anew; and until its lessons had been fairly mas-

tered, there were blunders both at home and in the encampment—blunders in the transports at sea and the store-houses on shore—blunders in the commissariat and medical staffs, on account of which huts, clothing, food, medicines were finding their way to every shore but the right one, or lying packed up and useless in bond, waiting for official deliverance, while those for whom they had been destined were dying for lack of them. With all this ignorance also, there was an enormous amount of mercantile fraud somewhere among the army contractors and their agents, which has never yet been fully cleared, and through which enormous profits were realized from the sufferings of our heroes in the Crimea. They are among those buried iniquities that nothing but “crack of doom” will open and bring to light. During the last three months of the year, 9000 British reinforcements had been sent out, but they only added to the prevalent destitution instead of the real strength of the army. It might have fared as ill with the French, who had also abundance of disease in their encampment, but that their commissariat departments were better managed, and their stores more promptly distributed, while the Frenchman, a born soldier, can more readily adapt himself to difficulties, and is less scrupulous in removing them.

Such were the miseries that had been accumulating upon our army since its entrance into the Crimea, and such the condition it exhibited towards the close of the year. It was well, however, that it was not wholly consigned to the tender mercies of official mismanagement. British philanthropy was awakened in behalf of our suffering soldiers into more than its wonted liberality, and so early as the 12th of October a subscription was opened for the sick and wounded, which in less than a fortnight amounted to £15,000; and this sum, which was sent to the *Times* office, was so judiciously administered by Mr. Macdonald, the special commissioner appointed for the purpose, that the hospitals in not a few cases were supplied with necessaries, and the sick with the means of recovery. Only a day or two afterwards, “The Royal Commission of the Patriotic Fund” was commenced, and with such success, that its contributions for the same purposes at last amounted to £1,025,000. While the temporal wants of the sufferers were thus regarded, their spiritual necessities were not lost sight of, and a subscription having been moved by the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,” for sending additional chaplains to the seat of war, was so liberally answered, that twenty-four additional clergymen were sent to the camp and the hospitals, partly by subscriptions and partly at the expense of government.

All this was much, but it was not here that the spontaneous movement of British benevolence was to terminate. By whom were the sick to be tended and their comforts administered? While the worn-out and diseased, the mangled, the mutilated, and the dying were of themselves an army that was numbered by the thousand, what amount of mere professional or hireling skill was it possible to muster for the recovery of the hopeful, or the consolation of those whose recovery was impossible? The flying round of the over-taxed physician, or the monotonous consolation of the exhausted, half-asleep nurse, must have been an additional mockery to those cases that demanded nothing less than a mother's or a sister's tenderness and love. And here a new exhibition was to be made in modern warfare, by which even the fables of chivalry were to be outdone. Delicate ladies of rank and education were to hurry to the scene of action, but with far other motives than to witness the stirring spectacle of the tournament or the bull-fight. They were to go cheerfully forth, and brave the horrors and privations of war without its glory and excitement—to exchange their perfumed boudoirs for the fevered atmosphere of the hospital, and the music of the concert for the hourly groans and cries of the suffering—and all that they might undertake that humble, self-denying office, to which the lowest poverty will scarcely condescend, and to minister those tender offices to the poor, neglected soldier, which gold cannot buy even for the great and the noble. The one instance of Eleanor, who sucked the poison from the wound of Edward I., has been the standing tale of centuries; but he for whom she risked her life, was her husband, and the trial though perilous, was over in a few moments. But our soldiers, whose deeds had transcended those of the Crusaders, were now to be tended by a higher and more difficult devotedness than that of the much-vaunted English queen. It was found that more and yet more nurses were needed for our sick and wounded soldiers in the crowded hospital at Scutari, and cases had accumulated to an amount which had reduced the practitioners of the healing art to despair, when the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert applied to Miss Florence Nightingale, who gladly acceded to his appeal. In addition to that tenderness of heart, combined with firmness of nerve and enduring patience, in which women excel the other sex, and by which they heal or alleviate the sufferings inflicted by man on his fellow-man, her natural aptitude for the office of a ministering angel was perfected by an experience such as few of her sex have enjoyed in the hospital of Kaiserwerth in Bavaria, and other similar institutions on the Continent. Thus born and trained for the hour and the occasion,

she set forth on her mission at the head of thirty-seven nurses, and accompanied by the Rev. Mr and Mrs. Bracebridge. Their benevolent purpose was known, and their journey through France was a triumphal ovation: all classes paid them honour as they travelled along; even the tavern-keepers refused payment for accommodating them, and the tavern-servants for waiting upon them. On the 5th of November, Miss Nightingale and her



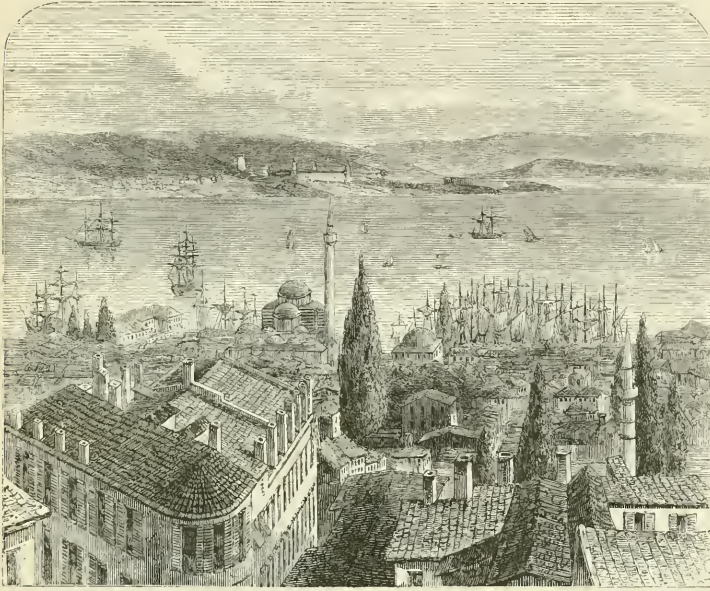
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.—From an engraving by Holl.

nurses arrived at Scutari, just before the wounded were brought in from the battle of Inkermann, and their arrival was like a spell under which pain was abated, murmurs hushed, and the glazed eye kindled with new comfort and hope. It was indeed felt that a change had come, in which war, divested of its worst inflictions, was to assume a new character and bearing. The crowds of wounded were poured in as was wont when a battle had closed; but for every sufferer the needful place had been prepared, and the remedies were in readiness; wherever there was pain, there was also a gentle hand to administer the cordial, and a voice to speak kindness and comfort; and while the soldier forgot his wounds amidst his grateful astonishment, the surgeons themselves, who had dreaded the arrival of such a new unprofessional medical staff, and who feared that these lady-nurses would be always in the way, or themselves converted into very troublesome patients instead of aids, were charmed by the order which they introduced into every department, by the silence with which they discharged their offices, and by the admirable tact and skill with which every prescription was applied. Death, indeed, was still busy, but only where the wound was mortal or the disease incurable; and the last hour itself was deprived of

many of its sufferings by the sedulous kindness of these devoted heroines. Soon, indeed, they must have fallen martyrs to the task from which they would not shrink, and which had outgrown their power, but for the arrival of Miss Stanley from England, with fifty new nurses, when the number of patients was 4000 in the hospitals of Scutari, and the newly established one at Kululee; and by this entrance to the rescue, the good work was resumed with more effectiveness than ever. Even when the great exploits by which this war was signalized have been forgot, these instances of woman's heroism will survive for imitation, and be cherished as a memorial beyond all military glory.

With the opening of 1855, the war seemed to be still further from a termination than ever. Sebastopol, instead of being crumbled beneath the cannonades of the allies, was daily acquiring new strength, until at last it promised to be impregnable, owing to the activity of its defenders, and the remarkable skill of General Todleben, the military engineer, by whom their operations were directed. Every piece of ground available for defence was fortified; every point from which a shot could tell upon their enemies was mounted with cannon. Earthworks which can be speedily constructed had been thrown up, that were found to be more effectual than defences of stone, while the artillery which surmounted them was superior to that of the allies both in number and calibre. It was especially by these earthworks that the defence of Sebastopol was so long and unexpectedly protracted, in spite of the established calculations which fixed the period of its downfall after a few days of useless resistance. In the meantime, the plight of the English and French armies, notwithstanding the large reinforcements that had been sent out, was of the most hopeless character; and the causes of this were fully explained before the Commission of Inquiry afterwards instituted by the British government in the Crimea. From their report, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1856, it is manifest, that with more than the usual amount of labour and difficulty, of sickness and suffering, which sieges had hitherto occasioned, there had been greater improvidence, waste, and misapplication of means, than had formerly characterized our military operations. Bravery, indeed, our soldiers had shown equal to any that adorns the page of history; but it was bravery unsheltered, unclothed, unfed—mortal bravery sinking and dying beneath those ills to which all flesh must succumb, but which a due amount of preparation might have eluded or warded off. The general effects of these upon our army can be estimated from the following brief statement given by an eye-witness, who was

present during the whole winter's campaign:—"On the 8th of January, of the 63d regiment only seven remained fit for duty. On the same day, the 46th, which had landed on the 8th of November, just two months before, mustered only sixty serviceable men. The 90th, a strong and healthy regiment, buried fifty men in eleven days; and one full company, during the same time, had only seventeen men out of hospital.



VIEW FROM MISERI'S HOTEL, CONSTANTINOPLE; Scutari Hospital in the distance.
From a sketch by James Newlands, C.E.

The three battalions of guards were mere names. Out of 1562 men, sent out to the Scots fusiliers from first to last, only 210 remained. The three battalions, which in all represented some 4500 rank and file, at this time did not muster 700 men on parade, and of that number there was not one man who, in a time of peace, would have been considered fit to be out of hospital. During the month of January, the troops always in hospital at camp averaged upwards of 3000 men, and in the same month no less than 4073 invalids were actually sent away to Scutari."¹

The return of spring, which stilled the destructive war of the elements, was also accompanied by the tardy arrival of some of those supplies which had been mis-sent to foreign ports, or buried beneath piles of cannon and stacks of shot during the months of winter, when they were most needed; and our reviving encampment was again prepared for enterprise, and animated

with hope. Another enemy, almost as obdurate as the elements themselves, had passed away: this was the Czar Nicholas, the source and animating soul of the war, who died of influenza on the 9th of March. The union of the two great powers of France and Britain for the protection of Turkey had taken him by surprise, and falsified his calculations, while his pertinacity of purpose in pursuing his original plan had been accompanied with such disasters as threatened its total overthrow. To such a lofty unbending spirit, death itself must have been welcome, as it saved him equally from the guilt of a useless persistence, and the shame of yielding; and he was succeeded by his eldest son, under the title of Alexander II. The new sovereign, who did not seem to inherit either the ambitious hopes or the resentments of his father, was desirous to establish the commencement of his reign by a general peace, and negotiations to this effect, which had been commenced at Vienna on the 28th of December, 1854, were carried on between the re-

presentatives of Russia, Turkey, Austria, France, and Great Britain. The basis of negotiation consisted of four articles, upon which the representatives of Austria, France, and Britain insisted, and were as follows:—1. That the exclusive protectorate exercised by Russia over Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia should be abolished; that none of the stipulations of the ancient treaties of Russia relative to the said provinces should be revived at the peace; and that the arrangements to be concluded on the subject of them should be ultimately combined, so as to give full and entire effect to the rights of the suzerain power to those of the three principalities, and to the general interests of Europe. 2. The complete freedom of the navigation of the Danube, and that Russia, for this purpose, should withdraw her jurisdiction from that part of the Lower Danube which she had established by the treaty of Adrianople. 3. The more complete connection of the Ottoman empire with the European equilibrium, and the extinction of the Russian ascendancy in the Black Sea. 4. The renunciation by Russia of her pretensions to a protec-

¹ "The Past Campaign: a Sketch of the War in the East, from the Departure of Lord Raglan to the Capture of Sebastopol" By N. A. Woods, Special Correspondent of the *Morning Herald*. London, 1855.

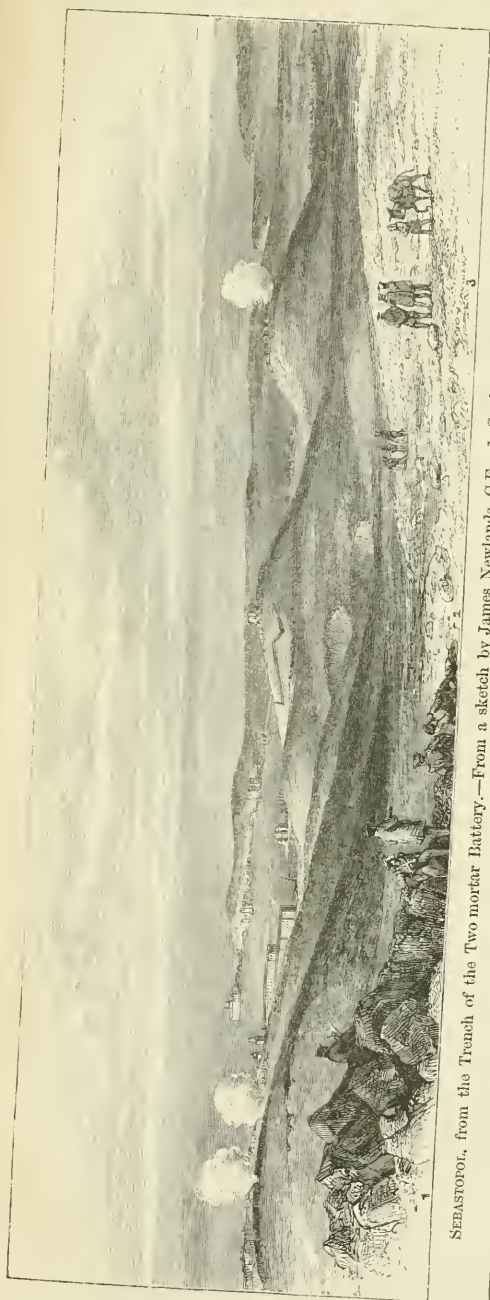
torate of the Christians of the Greek church who are the subjects of the sultan, and also the renunciation of all articles in former treaties interpreted in favour of such claim. The conference was opened at Vienna on the 15th of March, the representatives for Great Britain being Lord John Russell and the Earl of Westmoreland; and all went on smoothly until the discussion of the third article, upon which the conference was wrecked. Russia, indeed, could not well object to the connection of the Ottoman empire with the European balance of power, but she was wholly opposed to the limitation of her own ascendancy in the Black Sea. Every proposal to that effect was accordingly parried off or flatly refused by Prince Gortschakoff and M. de Titoff, the Russian representatives, and after much diplomatic discussion, the conference terminated on the 4th of June without any result.

While these negotiations were in progress, the war was not for a moment suspended: the blows already dealt had been too heavy, and the combatants were too warm for an effectual interference of peace-making diplomacy; and on the 17th of February a strong force of Russians, supported by a powerful body of artillery under the command of General Chruleff, made a vigorous attack upon Eupatoria. But the place was gallantly defended by Omar Pacha, at the head of a body of Turkish troops and a French detachment; and after a few hours of hard fighting, the Russians were driven from the walls, and compelled to retreat towards Simpheropol. Another attempt of theirs at Sebastopol was more successful. In front of the Malakoff, and a little to the right of the trenches of the allied army, was a knoll, which might be used with effect either against the town itself on the one hand, or against the French works on the other, according to the party that held possession of it, but which at present was a sort of neutral ground. The Russians, however, were sharp enough to discover the advantage that might be made of it, and on the 9th of March, during the night, a body of troops stole from the town and took quiet possession of the eminence, on which they erected a redoubt, and threw up works without interruption. When daylight dawned, the French were disagreeably astonished by the vision of this new lodgment, afterwards called the Mamelon Vert, which they assailed on the second night of its occupation by the Russians, but were beaten off with considerable loss. Improving their advantage, the Russians honey-combed the ground on the front and either side of the fort with rifle-pits, which powerfully strengthened its defences. These pits were merely excavations, each capable of holding about ten men; and being banked with the earth thrown up from them, and faced round

with sand-bags that were loop-holed for rifles, each formed a sort of troglodyte fortress which no assailants could approach with safety. To gain possession of these rifle-pits was now of serious importance to the French, and for that purpose several stirring encounters took place, one of the most important of which was on the 17th of March, which continued during the greater part of the day. At night, the French renewed the attempt, and a body of 700 advancing stealthily towards these dangerous earth-works, discharged a volley of musketry at their defenders, and rushed forward with a bayonet charge. The pits were won, but it was only for a moment; the Russians rallied and the French were driven back; but the latter on being reinforced by 800 men returned to the charge, carried the first line of pits, and advanced upon the second, when they were met by such a heavy fire of musketry that they were routed and followed to their own entrenchments by the Russians, who at this point were compelled to retire in consequence of a cannonade being opened upon them. On the 22d the Russians attempted a surprise in turn. It was a dark and windy night, when a large body of their troops advanced from the Mamelon so silently, that they reached the advanced French parallel unobserved, and after a short fight drove the troops who opposed them back upon their reserves. Thus far successful, the Russians were eager for a similar attempt upon the British; and gliding along the French parallel, they crossed the ravine that interposed between the allied armies, and made a furious attack upon the British trenches, hoping to surprise and overpower the troops that guarded them. Here, however, they were disappointed, being resolutely met by a detachment of the 97th regiment, led on by the brave and good Captain Vickers, who fell while cheering on his men to the attack. These troops were soon joined by detachments of the 77th, and under their united charge with the bayonet the Russian column was borne back, defeated with heavy loss, and compelled to retire.

These, however, compared with the magnitude of the war and the important results at stake, were paltry skirmishes in which nothing more substantial than glory could be won; and although the losses of the Russians were heavy as compared with the allies, they could be more easily reinforced, while they had better means of procrastinating the war. More decisive measures were necessary, and it was resolved by the allied commanders that a second bombardment of Sebastopol should be attempted. Accordingly, on the morning of Easter Monday, the 9th of April, amidst rain, storm, and fog, while tents were blown down by the wind and the noise of the

cannon half drowned by the roar of the elements, the allied batteries opened their fire upon the devoted town: and these were answered by the



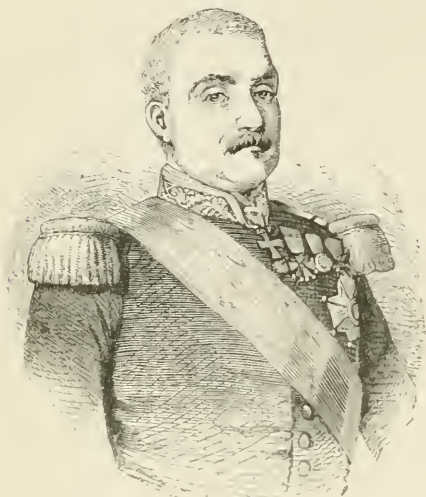
SEBASTOPOL. from the Trench of the Two mortar batteries.—From a sketch by James Newlands, C.E.—1, Gordon's Battery; 2, Malakoff; 3, Mamelon.

ever, and although the enemy suffered a frightful loss in men, while many of the houses were demolished, they maintained the resistance with undiminished vigour. At the same time, conflicts were carried on for possession of the rifle-pits, which were taken and re-taken during the course of the general cannonade. But although this heavy bombardment was continued for several days, and the allies were reinforced by 15,000 Turks, Sebastopol gave no token of surrender, or even of slackness, but kept up her stubborn resistance to the close. It was not in this summary manner that the town was to be taken, and the unsuccessful attempt was once more followed by the skirmishes and surprises of a protracted siege.

The annoyance of so long a delay, and so many failures, could scarcely fail to produce discontent both in the camp and at home; and while the French and British generals were showing symptoms of divided counsels, the French commander-in-chief, General Canrobert, was superseded by General Pelissier, an officer who had acquired distinction in the French war in Algeria, by the stern energy and promptitude, as well as merciless character of his proceedings. Sardinia had also acceded at the commencement of the year to the war-like alliance of France and Britain against Russia, and furnished a body of 15,000 men, in five brigades, to co-operate with them in the Crimea. The effects of these changes were soon manifested in more decisive operations, by which the Russians were driven out of their ambuscades, and the town more closely invested. To cut short the resources of Sebastopol, and compel it to a more speedy surrender, it was also resolved to send an expedition to Kertch and the Straits of Yenikale, leading into the Sea of Azof, from which quarter the town received its principal supplies. For this expedition 3800 British, 7500 French, and 5000 Turks embarked on the 22d of May (1855), and were landed on the 24th, at a short distance south of Kertch. But scarcely had the troops disembarked when their landing was signalized by one of those terrible self-sacrifices which were now becoming a characteristic of the Russians, and by which they daunted their assailants more highly than by the valour of their resistance—they were destroying with their own hands their choicest magazines rather than that they should fall into our possession. Accordingly, the advance of the allied troops was greeted by tremendous explosions in the distance, that shook the ground beneath their feet, and made the vessels rock in the bay, as one magazine after another was set on fire; and on their arrival at Kertch, they found the whole works along the shore abandoned, the guns spiked, the forts blown up, and the immense stores of provisions destroyed.

Garden and Redan, the Mamelon, the Inkermann, and Careening Bay batteries, which successively and speedily came into play. But as fast as the Russian works were injured, they were repaired and made as fit for service as

What was left undone in this work of destruction in the Sea of Azof, was completed by Captain Lyons and a squadron of steamers; and at Berdiansk, at Arabat and Genitchi, above 100



GENERAL PELISSIER.—From a French lithograph.

transport vessels were destroyed, and as much provision as would have victualled an army of 100,000 men for four months. It was a fearful stroke of the axe at the very root of the enemy's resistance, which had for some time been contemplated, but the execution of which had been delayed till now. After having wasted every source of supply to Sebastopol along the whole south-east corner of the Crimean peninsula, the troops were re-embarked on the 12th of June.

While this expedition was going on, the success of which was certain from the force that composed it, a fresh attack was resolved upon Sebastopol that promised to be decisive, as the assailants, notwithstanding their losses by war and sickness, were more numerous than ever, in consequence of the large reinforcements that had arrived, and four strong armies, consisting of French, British, Sardinians, and Turks, were now arrayed against its devoted bulwarks. The French were to make simultaneous attacks upon the Mamelon, and upon two other redoubts, the Vollynia and Selinghinsk, close to Careening Bay, while the English were to advance against the Quarries. At half-past six in the evening of the 7th of June, the French rushed forward to the assault; and though they suffered severely, from having a long way to traverse under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, they reached the steep leading to the Mamelon, ascended it with unabated ardour, scrambling and bounding as they best might in broken array, but going direct to the mark, and were soon in the heart of the

Mamelon, the possession of which they contested with the bayonet. The Russians were driven out; they rallied and returned to the charge, and were again driven out; but being reinforced, they renewed the battle more fiercely than ever, while it was impossible, from the alternate swaying of the tide of fight for the spectators from beneath to ascertain with which party the advantage rested. An hour of terrible struggle elapsed, and the darkness was closing before this reeling earthquake terminated within the Mamelon, but it ended with the entire expulsion of the Russians. Enraged at the loss they had sustained, and the resistance that had been kept up by reinforcements from the Malakoff, the Zouaves impetuously rushed forward to assail and win it, as they had done the Mamelon, but were encountered by such a crushing fire from the Round Tower, that they were perforce brought to a pause, and at last compelled to fall back to the ground they had already won. Equally keen and equally successful was the attack of the British upon the Quarries, which had been used by the Russians as rifle-pits, and whose formidable defences were crowned by the Redan on the hill-top. Our troops advanced with their wonted gallantry against these dangerous entrenchments; stormed them in rapid succession, and held possession of them during the whole night against six desperate attacks of the Russians, who endeavoured to recover them, and were careless of the losses they sustained in the attempt. It was even thought that had our troops been permitted, they would have crowned their success by the capture of the Redan itself, which they were impatient to attack, and which at that time was almost without defence. The possession of these outworks and the glory of the success cost a heavy price to the victors, whose loss during this fierce evening and night conflict, in killed and wounded, amounted to more than 4000 men, the whole of which, with the exception of about 400, had fallen upon our French allies.

Having thus established themselves nearer to Sebastopol, an assault upon the town itself might have been expected to follow; but upon this the French and English commanders were divided, the latter declaring that Sebastopol was still too strong to be attempted by a *coup-de-main*. At last it was resolved, at a council of generals on the 16th of June, that an assault should take place on the 18th at daybreak. To the British was committed the attack upon the Redan, to which only 1200 men were allotted, while the French, in six columns, each numbering 6000 men, and supported by 25,000 reserves, assumed for themselves the principal part of the conflict. On their left they were to assail the Quarantine Bastion, the Central Bastion, and the Flagstaff

Bastion, each by one of their columns, under General de Salles; on their right the Gervais battery and the right flank of the Malakoff were to be assailed by another column led by General d'Antemarre; while General Brunet with a fifth was to issue from the Mamelon and attack the left flank of the Malakoff and the Little Redan. A sixth column of 6000 men under General Mayran, was to issue from the extreme right of the French

towards Inkermann, and from the White Works was to fall upon the Russian batteries near Careening Creek and the works connecting the first bastion with the Little Redan. In this manner every defence was to be assailed at once, and the whole of Sebastopol enveloped in a circle of flame and tempest, under which all must go down; and that nothing might be omitted, the French were to make a demonstration against the Mackenzie



Heights under the gallant General Bosquet, who had already shown his ability in attacks in an open field. The signal of onset upon so many points at once was to be given by the throwing up of star rockets, as soon as General Pelissier gave the word of command.

The plan was admirably laid, and with troops inured to such movements by a series of campaigns, it might have been successfully executed; but in the present case it was liable to such mistakes as would be enough to mar its uniformity, and occasion an utter failure. General Pelissier was to give the signal from the Lancaster battery; but while he was at some distance from the spot, and shortly before three o'clock on the morning of the 18th, he was startled by the sound of a heavy firing of cannon and musketry. A premature attack had commenced. Deceived by the light of a blazing fuze, which was sent up from the Brancion redoubt, and which he mistook for

the signal rockets, General Mayran advanced his column against the entrenchments, which extended from a battery at the point in front to the redoubt at Careening Bay. It was a fatal anticipation; over the whole line of defences the enemy were roused and put upon their guard, and against Mayran's detachment was opened such a fire not only from the works to be assailed, but from the Russian steamers in the bay, that his troops were driven back, and himself mortally wounded. It was then only that the rocket signals went up from the Lancaster battery, and the other French troops rushed forward to support the unfortunate movement of Mayran's division, aided by whom, the latter established themselves in the hollow of Careening Bay. As for General Brunet he had not completed his arrangements when the signal was given; but he instantly advanced to the attack, and fell mortally wounded by a ball in the chest, while leading up his men to the left

of the Malakoff, and his troops were driven back with heavy loss to the trenches. To the right of the Malakoff the attack was more successful. As soon as the rockets were seen, General d'Autemarre's column dashed up the ravine that separated the Redan from the Malakoff, crossed the ditch, climbed over the parapet of the Gervais battery, driving the enemy before them, and a few even forced their way into the Malakoff itself. And now was the time for support from the British troops, who, it was calculated, were to be already in possession of the Redan; but the Redan was still in the hands of the Russians, and from it and the other works such a heavy fire was kept up against D'Autemarre's successful troops, that at half-past eight o'clock they were withdrawn, and with the other French columns recalled to the trenches.

It was from no lack of readiness or courage that the British were not in possession of the Redan, and prepared to second their allies; but the fatal blunder at the commencement of this complicated attack extended its influence to all the other operations of this unfortunate morning. The Russians also had cunningly withdrawn or masked the greater part of the guns of this fortress, to give it a tempting air of defencelessness; and hence the mistake which in the plan of action allowed so small a force as sufficient for its capture. It was also understood that the British assault upon it was not to be made until the French had carried the Malakoff; but when he saw them already in possession of the Gervais battery on the right flank of it, and pressing onward to the tower itself, Lord Raglan thought it full time to aid their efforts by commencing the attack. The storming party, consisting of 400 men of the 34th regiment, preceded by a party of the rifle brigade and a ladder party of the sailors' brigade carrying ladders and woolbags, rushed out of the trench; but the instant they appeared they were struck down in heaps by a sweeping fire of grape, case-shot, and musketry. Their commander, Major Gwilt, ordered them to lie down; but his soldiers on the extreme right of the trench, who did not hear the order, rushed on through the death-storm—the whole party followed in headlong haste and great disorder, but were soon brought to a pause on the left face of the Redan by the abattis, where they were struck down like deer in a battue by the deliberate well-aimed volleys that were poured upon them from the rampart. The officers were dropping fast; Major Gwilt was severely wounded, and Colonel Yea, who took the command, and saw the hopelessness of the attack, cried, "This will never do! where's the bugler to call them back?" As no bugler was to be found at this moment of need, he endeavoured by voice and

gesture to bring the troops into order for a desperate rush at the batteries, and fell mortally wounded by a grape-shot. Nor did matters fare better with the column on the left, appointed for the attack of the re-entering angle and flank of the right of the Redan; neither at the ditch nor at the abattis were scaling-ladders placed; the commanders at their head fell in succession while endeavouring to form the disordered ranks and lead them to the charge, and in a short time the whole of the assailing columns had disappeared. Thus miserably ended our mistaken confidence that the Redan would be taken at the first onset. With an inadequate force—with preparations so defective that not even a scaling ladder had been planted—our troops were thrown forward upon what had been mistaken for defenceless walls, but which were now found bristling with cannon, and manned with soldiers who had only to select their victims, and had been taught to take aim chiefly at the officers. So ridiculously insufficient indeed did this attack appear to the Russians, who were prepared for thrice the number of the assailants, that they laughed at and taunted our soldiers while they fired on them at the abattis, and cried, "Come nearer, Englishmen—come nearer!"

All the attempts of this unfortunate day however were not to be alike unsuccessful, and the exception was in favour of a body of troops of the third division to the number of 2000 men under Major-general Eyre, which was intended to make a demonstration rather than a real attack. This detachment moved down to the ravine at the head of Dockyard Creek early in the morning, to threaten the Dockyard and the Barrack batteries; and on approaching the cemetery, where the troops were halted under cover, General Eyre said to the 18th regiment: "I hope, my men, that this morning you will do something that will make every cabin in Ireland ring again!" The soldiers replied with an enthusiastic cheer, and although their shout roused the enemy and brought upon them a shower of grape, they rushed forward and took possession of the cemetery after a very slight resistance. A heavy fire was instantly opened upon them from the left of the Redan and from the Barrack battery, and volleys of musketry plied them from a suburb close to the Dockyard Creek, and from a number of houses below the Barrack battery; but the 18th dashed through the storm, and carried the houses on the left, while those on the right were won and occupied by detachments from the other regiments. Here they were ready to aid the French attack on their right if it should prove successful; and here therefore they maintained themselves till evening, under a heavy concentrated fire from the Russian guns, when, in

consequence of the failure of the attacks on the Malakoff and Redan, they were obliged to retire. The cemetery however remained in our possession, and the small Mamelon near it, and this was all we obtained from a disastrous failure that cost the allied armies a loss of nearly 5000 men in killed and wounded. The Russians were proud of their success; and in the armistice that followed for the removal of the dead and wounded on either side, they expressed their astonishment at the folly of the attack, and at our confidence that with such means we could take Sebastopol.

This melancholy defeat of the 18th of June was fatal to more than those who were struck down by shot and shell in the onset: it inflicted one of those heart-wounds upon our brave old commander-in-chief, more painful to bear than a mere fleshly injury, and for which no surgery can find a cure. Lord Raglan had long been silently writhing under the disappointments of this protracted war, at the impatience expressed at home, and the injurious comments of our journalists, who were reproaching him with incompetence because he could not effect what was afterwards found to be impossible. But the failure of that fatal day—of the 18th of June, the anniversary of Waterloo, of which he was one of the few surviving heroes, touched his military sensitiveness, and made him doubly feel the bitterness of such a disaster. He died on the 28th of that month, at the age of sixty-seven. During the whole of the Wellington campaigns he had been distinguished by his courage and promptitude, and by the confidence which his illustrious superior reposed in him; and on the breaking out of the Russian war, no general was judged from character and experience to be so well fitted for the command in so new and difficult a crisis. It has been concluded however, from the results, that still higher military attributes than his would have been necessary for such a trying position. It must be remembered also, that forty years of peace had elapsed, so that the military character of his army had to be formed anew; and that he was hampered with a divided command, in which nothing was entire but the responsibility and the blame of failure. When the news of his death reached England, General Simpson, chief of the staff in the Crimea, was promoted to the command of our army in that quarter, although he was himself the most earnest in deprecating the appointment.

Notwithstanding the success of the previous resistance, the condition of Sebastopol was more critical than ever. Her supplies upon which she had calculated in the Sea of Azof were destroyed, and the armies of the besiegers, increased with reinforcements, were more confident of success

than before. It was full time that the covering army under General Liprandi, which had remained dispirited and inert since its defeat at Inkermann, should make a fresh attempt to raise the siege, and they began to make preparations; but their intention was fortunately perceived by the allied forces, who on this occasion were not to be taken by surprise as they had been at Inkermann. The brunt of the onset also, instead of falling at this time upon the British, was to be directed against the French and Sardinians, whose lines were covered along their whole length by the river Tchernaya. At dawn, on the 16th of August, the Russians attacked the Sardinian outposts on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of securing three plateaux where their guns could command the ground occupied by the Sardinian and Turkish armies as well as the plain that opened towards the French position. The assailed outposts, though reinforced, were driven across the river, and the Russians, having lined the heights on the right bank of the Tchernaya, opened the fire of their heavy guns upon the French position which was opposite. They were answered in front by the French, and in flank by the Sardinians. Three compact masses of Russian infantry, reinforcements lately arrived from Poland, who came on with a courage and impetuosity that threatened to carry everything before them, now attempted an advance towards the plain in front of the French position; but the points they had selected for the purpose—the Tractir bridge and the last of a series of three hillocks—were so resolutely defended by the Zouaves, that the assailants were checked, and finally driven back both from the hillock and the bridge, and the French position was secured. They also attempted an aqueduct at the foot of the hillock which formed the French chief defence; but when they had crossed it on the right, and were beginning to scale the heights which formed the top of the embankment, they were taken so effectually in flank by the Sardinian batteries, that they were swept from their eminence in whole files into the aqueduct below. The Russian column fell back; but cheered by the advance of a fresh column to support them, they advanced to a second charge with greater weight and better success: they forded the river to the right and left of the bridge, crossed it by the bridge itself, and through a ford, braving every obstacle of fire and water that confronted them. But here the French were prepared to welcome them, and in such gallant style, that after a short struggle the assailants were forced from the ground they had won for a moment, and driven back across the river. All this as yet however was not half of the battle: the Russian columns returned to the attack both at bridge

and aqueduct, which they endeavoured to wrest from the French, who with equal determination maintained their defence, being ably seconded by the Sardinians; and the Russian columns after a desperate but hopeless series of struggles, retired from the fight with greater precipitation and show of faint-heartedness than they had done in any previous conflict. Here, also, their losses were occasioned not so much by bayonet thrusts and the wounds of a hand-to-hand fight, as by the French and Sardinian artillery, which was served with admirable precision and effect. It was a victory glorious to their arms, considering the disparity of numbers, for their forces engaged in it were not above 17,000, while their enemies amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000. The loss also on both sides was almost equally proportioned to such a disparity, for while the Russians had about 8000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, those of the allies did not exceed 1000 men. Even in this last engagement also, as in several of the previous ones, the enemy evinced those traits of original barbarism which, notwithstanding their recent civilization, still constitutes an odious part of their national character. When the strife had ceased, the Russians opened their guns upon those French soldiers who were humanely attending to the wounded of their

the Turkish Delis or old northern Berserkars, revived and cherished among those who called themselves a Christian soldiery.

After this defeat of the Russians at Tchernaya, the allies made preparations for an attack upon Sebastopol that should be final and successful. The 8th of September was the time fixed upon, and the hour that of mid-day, when the Russians were accustomed to withdraw themselves under shelter, and take their repast. The plan of assault was, that the French should storm the Malakoff, and this being done that the British should assail and take possession of the Redan. To attack this last fort before the other was secured would have been the height of rashness, as the Redan was completely commanded by the guns of the Malakoff. Everything promised success to this closing enterprise, for while the covering army of Liprandi was reduced to inaction by its late defeat, so many of the Malakoff's parapets had been destroyed, and its other defences had been so damaged by previous cannonades, that it was in little condition to withstand a determined onset; and the only effectual resistance that could be offered was from the long-range shot which could be fired from the numerous batteries that the Russians had thrown up on the north side of the roadstead, in the rear of the first line of defences.

At the appointed hour of noon, the attack on the Malakoff commenced. The French troops nimbly crossed the ditches and scaled the parapets; they rushed forward with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and came to close quarters with the Russian gunners, whom they assailed with the bayonet, the butts of their muskets, and stones, while the gunners in defence wielded their rammers, but in this hopeless re-



INTERIOR OF THE MALAKOFF, with Remains of the White Tower.
From Simpson's Sketches of the Seat of War in the East.

enemies after the fight was over. Every Russian also who fell was found to have a large empty bottle beside him that had been filled with brandy; and it was evident through the conflict that their soldiers were animated with other inspiration than that of mere military ardour. It was the drunken artificial fury and madness of

assistance they were struck down, captured, or driven out, and in a quarter of an hour the tricolor flag hoisted upon the redoubt proclaimed that the Malakoff was taken. The Redan of the Careening Port was also carried after a severe struggle; every work selected by the French had fallen, and their centre column had arrived as far as the second

inclosure. And now was the time for the attack of the British upon the Great Redan, as had been concerted, and accordingly the signal was made by the French commander-in-chief. But here the difficulties were greater than had been surmised, while the spirit of blundering seemed to have wakened into more than its former perverseness. For the storming party only 1000 men had been selected, and these, instead of being our best and freshest soldiers, consisted of those who were worn out by service in the trenches, and raw recruits lately arrived from England. This most hopeless of "forlorn

hopes" had also 200 yards to traverse before they could reach the salient angle of the Redan, while the fort itself, well manned with Russians, who were now aware that a general attack was intended, could not be taken by surprise as those of the Malakoff had been. No sooner had the storming party sprung from the trenches, than they were encountered with a sweeping fire of artillery that miserably thinned their ranks before they could reach the salient of the redoubt; and on attaining this point, where they could not form a front, but only advance in two's and three's, they were enfiladed on either flank by the fire of an enemy whom they could not see. Gallantly, however, they kept possession of the post, until their ammunition failed, and they were assailed by superior numbers; but even then, they only shifted their ground from the salient point to the extreme side of the parapet, now a heap of loose earth, stones, and broken gabions, where they maintained themselves for an hour and a half under a heavy fire of vertical grape from within the works, and at last were only dislodged and driven back by an overwhelming rush of the enemy.

In spite, however, of this miserable failure upon the Great Redan, and also an attack of the French on the Central Bastion, in which they were repulsed, the fate of Sebastopol was sealed. After the capture of the Malakoff, the resistance of the town could be continued only a few days longer, and this too by the sacrifice of a part of its army, which, in consequence of the separation

of the great bridge of boats, would have lost its communication with the northern side of the town. But instead of this useless attempt,



INTERIOR OF THE GREAT REDAN, taken from its left face, looking south.
From Simpson's Sketches of the Seat of War in the East.

the Russians had resolved to make one of those sublime sacrifices by which they endeavour to paralyze the progress of a successful enemy, and of which they had already given an instance by sinking their ships in the harbour—they resolved to destroy Sebastopol itself, and leave nothing but its ruins to the foe. "Valiant comrades!" said Prince Gortschakoff in his address to the soldiers, "it is painful, it is hard, to leave Sebastopol in the enemy's hands. But remember the sacrifice we made upon the altar of our country in 1812. Moscow was surely as valuable as Sebastopol—we abandoned it after the immortal battle of Borodino. The defence of Sebastopol during 349 days is superior to Borodino, and when the enemy entered Moscow in that great year of 1812, they only found heaps of stones and ashes. Likewise it is not Sebastopol which we have left to them, but the burning ruins of the town, which we ourselves set fire to, having maintained the honour of the defence in such a manner that our great grandchildren may recal the remembrance thereof with pride to all posterity."

Deliberately and carefully every preparation was made for this terrible holocaust of war. On the evening of the 8th, the Russian troops commenced their abandonment of Sebastopol on the south side of the town, and were transported to the north side, partly by boats, and partly by the bridge constructed in the bay. When all had been conveyed across in safety, and with a

deliberation that set their enemies at defiance, the work of destruction commenced by an explosion that shook the allied encampment, and roused for a moment some weary soldiers from their slumbers; but it was only a magazine-explosion—such noises were of frequent occurrence—and they turned themselves to rest again as if the matter was not worth a thought. But an hour after, these shocks were quickly repeated, and the houses that had been stored with combustibles for the purpose were kindled in each successive explosion, until streets and squares were enveloped in a sea of living fire. The enemy had blown up their defences, destroyed the artillery they could not carry off, removed the bridge—had finally scuttled and sunk their fleet with the exception of the steamers, and had left nothing behind them but the funeral pyre of Sebastopol! This the astonished allies found, when at break of morning on the 9th, they ventured as closely into the town as the showers of fire and ruin permitted, while far beyond these protecting obstacles the Russians were effecting their unmoled retreat. This safety they had dearly purchased but cheerfully paid, and nothing was abandoned to their enemies except a trophy that could only be regarded with shame or regret. The allies were astonished at the enormous strength of the works which the Russians had constructed with such labour, promptitude, and skill; and which they had made good against six bombardments, greater than any that modern war had yet produced, and they no longer wondered that the siege had been so destructive and so long protracted. But it was evident, also, that neither massiveness of rampart nor immensity of bomb-proof could have longer saved them from capture, especially when the Malakoff had been taken; and that with their firm resolution of “No surrender,” the Russians had no alternative but the destruction of the town, or that of their brave and numerous army.

The excitement of the siege—the glory of warfare had now passed away, but these were to be succeeded by its ghastly spectacles of the wounded or festering corruption of the dead—its bereavements and humiliations—its gore, and mud, and squalidness. The ditches of the Malakoff and Little Redan were piled with dead bodies as thick as they could lie; the suburb of ruined houses open to the sea, was a Golgotha of mangled Russians, who had crept into every hole and corner that they might die undisturbed. But let one of the hundred spectacles as described by an eye-witness suffice as a specimen of the rest. It was that of a building used as an hospital. “Entering one of these doors, I beheld such a sight as few men, thank God, ever witnessed. In a long, low room, supported by square

pillars arched at the top, and dimly lighted through shattered and unglazed window-frames, lay the wounded Russians, who had been abandoned to our mercies by their general. The wounded, did I say? No, but the dead—the rotten and festering corpses of the soldiers, who were left to die in their extreme agony, untended, uncared for, packed as close as they could be stowed, some on the floor, others on wretched tressels and bedsteads, or pallets of straw, sopped and saturated with blood, which oozed and trickled through upon the floor, mingling with the droppings of corruption. With the roar of exploding fortresses in their ears—with shells and shot pouring through the roof and sides of the rooms in which they lay—with the crackling and hissing of fire around them, these poor fellows, who had served their loving friend and master the czar but too well, were consigned to their terrible fate. Many might have been saved by ordinary care. Many lay, yet alive, with maggots crawling about in their wounds. Many, nearly mad by the scene around them, or seeking escape from it in their extremest agony, had rolled away under the beds, and glared out on the heart-stricken spectator—oh! with such looks. Many, with legs and arms broken and twisted, the jagged splinters sticking through the raw flesh, implored aid, water, food, or pity, or, deprived of speech by the approach of death, or by dreadful injuries in the head or trunk, pointed to the lethal spot. Many seemed bent alone on making their peace with Heaven. The attitudes of some were so hideously fantastic as to appal and root one to the ground by a sort of dreadful fascination. Could that bloody mass of clothing and white bones ever have been a human being, or that burned black mass of flesh have ever held a human soul? It was fearful to think what the answer must be. The bodies of numbers of men were swollen and bloated to an incredible degree; and the features, distended to a gigantic size, with eyes protruding from the sockets, and the blackened tongue lolling out of the mouth, compressed tightly by the teeth, which had set upon it in the death-rattle, made one shudder and reel around.”¹ And has war come to this at last? Is the field of glory and the bed of honour turned into such a loathsome sty, that the most adventurous would shudder at it, and the most ambitious turn sick at the spectacle! But thus it must be with the wholesale crushing and destroying arts of modern warfare, and it is only an inevitable consequence of the progress of science and the higher elevation of intellect. In this way, any humane military engineer acting upon an enemy whom he cannot see, and whom he does not hate, can inflict

¹ Russell's *British Expedition to the Crimea*, p. 474. London, 1853.

an amount of havoc and misery far beyond the worst of Attila or Tamerlane. Assuredly war has nearly reached that height at which it *must* pause! Even such excess might of itself compel a millennium of universal peace!

On entering Sebastopol, the allied troops were obliged to observe the greatest caution, as the Russians had dug numerous mines in the streets, to each of which a small wire was attached, and this, at the touch of an unwary foot, produced an immediate explosion. Every building that was standing was so riddled with shot and shells as to be useless; and as for the houses, they had been so well stripped by their occupants, that little remained in the shape of plunder. The Russians, moreover, far from taking to flight, and dispersing themselves among their boundless wastes, had made the safest and most orderly of retreats, had established themselves on the north side of Sebastopol, where they were separated from their enemies by a deep arm of the sea, a river, and the sides of a plateau as steep as a wall—and from their forts in that quarter, they opened a cannonade upon the town, wherever they saw our soldiers grouped together in the streets. On taking possession of Sebastopol, a division of it was made, the French occupying the eastern,

and the British the western suburb. With the fall of the town, the campaign for the season in this quarter was virtually at an end, and no active demonstration took place on the part of the allies with the exception of an expedition in the middle of September, which the French sent to Eupatoria, in which they defeated a body of Russian cavalry in a skirmish. On the 10th of November, General Simpson resigned office as commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea, and was succeeded by General Sir William Codrington.

While the allied armies were pulling the remains of Sebastopol in pieces, and using the fragments for the enlargement or decoration of the huts of their encampment, an expedition by sea was resolved against Kinburn, a Russian fortress situated on a narrow tongue of land at the mouth of the Dnieper, mounting sixty or seventy cannon, and garrisoned by 1500 men; and to conceal the object of the expedition, the allied fleet which left Kamiesch Bay on the 7th of October, anchored off Odessa on the following day, as if their object had been to bombard it. The enemy were thus thrown off their guard, and while they were hastily fortifying the large and rich town of Odessa, the fleet suddenly



GENERAL VIEW OF THE FORTRESS OF KINBURN.—From a sketch by M. de la Laurencie, engraved in *L'Illustration*.

weighed anchor on the 14th, and appeared before Kinburn. Troops were landed to prevent the garrison from being reinforced and to cut off its retreat, and on the 17th, three French floating batteries opened their fire upon the fortress, being seconded by the gun and mortar boats. Their heavy fire, and that of the British frigates and steamers by which Kinburn was commanded in front and flank, could not long be withstood, and terms of capitulation were accepted by which the garrison marched out as prisoners with the honours of war. After this surrender, two divisions of the armament were sent to scour the little islands in the mouth of the Dnieper, and after five days spent in this

expedition, they effected the capture of an enormous raft of timber intended for the naval arsenal of Nicholaieff, which, however, they could not bring into port, as in the attempt it was broken asunder, and drifted away into the open sea. At the same time, an expedition of the allied troops was conducted by land into the interior of the country, where they burned the village of Pakoffka, which was deserted by its inhabitants, a body of Russian cavalry which hovered upon their march not daring to attack them. A few days after, this expedition returned to the Crimea, leaving a garrison of French soldiers in the three forts of Kinburn. Another similar armament was sent on the 24th

of October, to destroy the Russian settlements at Taman and Fanagoria, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kertch, and was successful, both forts being captured without the loss of a man. A third expedition was sent at the same time to cut off the communication between Taman and Temruk, where a considerable body of Russian troops was stationed, and these were so effectually daunted by a fire of shot and shell from the ships at the long distance of 2500 yards, that instead of being able to advance to the relief of Taman, they were obliged to fall back upon Temruk. These in themselves were trivial undertakings, but they were all that were left to the allied armies in the Crimea after Sebastopol had been abandoned, and they tended to hasten the return of peace by cutting asunder the sinews of resistance. But in this kind of loss the Russians did not suffer alone; and the 14th of November was signalized by an accident in the

allied camp, that was long after remembered with terror: it was the explosion of a vast store of Russian and French gunpowder collected in three magazines to the amount of 250,000 lbs., with huge piles of shell, carcasses, rockets, and small-arm ammunition. But more important still than the loss of such warlike stores was that of life, which the explosion occasioned; for of the English, one officer, and twenty non-commissioned officers were killed, and four officers and 112 non-commissioned officers wounded, while the loss among the French was greater still. When the war was such a losing game to both parties, it was easy to read in these disasters the hope of peace, and promise of mutual agreement. The only question was, what party would be the first to confess its inferiority by withdrawing from the struggle, and with what concessions military honour and political expediency would be satisfied.

CHAPTER XX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1855—1856.

VICTORIA.

Cessation of active hostilities at Sebastopol—The war in Asia Minor—Defeats of the Turks—General Williams sent to Kars—Attack of the Russians on Kars—Gallant defence by the Turks—Kars reduced by famine—Its surrender—Naval proceedings of the war—Operations of the allied fleets in the Baltic—Their first successes and failures—Expedition against the Aland Islands—Capture of Bomarsund—Naval operations in the White Sea—Attack of an English and French squadron on Petropaulowski—Death of Admiral Price—Attack of a land force on the town—Its total defeat—Dissatisfaction at home with our naval operations—Sir Charles Napier superseded—The massacre of Hango—Its stain upon the Russian character—Attack of the allied fleet on Sweaborg—The bombardment of Sweaborg—Its destructive character—Effectual plan of defence—Unsuccessful termination of the attack on Sweaborg—The new czar's disinclination to the war—Necessity of peace to Russia—Willingness of the allies to grant it—Preliminary negotiations for the purpose—Meeting of representatives of the belligerent powers at Paris—A treaty of peace concluded—Terms of the treaty—Peace proclaimed in the Crimea—Desolation of Sebastopol—Review of parliamentary proceedings at home during the period of war—Depression of the mercantile, and prosperity of the agricultural interests in 1854—Bill for parliamentary reform—Its introduction opposed as unseasonable—It is introduced by Lord John Russell—Reforms proposed by the bill—The ministers compelled to abandon it—Two other bills connected with parliamentary reform passed—Proposals of law reform—A bill passed for the amendment of the common law—Restrictions in the navigation laws wholly removed—The ministers lose public confidence through the mismanagement of the war—They resign—A new cabinet formed—Summary of the parliamentary proceedings of 1855—State of the nation at the commencement of 1856—General feeling towards the treaty of peace—It is discussed in both houses—Eulogy on Miss Nightingale and Lord Raglan—Address to the queen—The royal reply—Parliamentary summary of the services of the navy and army—Attestation to the valour of the Russians.



THE second winter had now set in upon the sojourn of the allied armies in the Crimea; and after the evacuation of Sebastopol there was a cessation of active hostilities, the Russians confining themselves to an occasional cannonade upon the town, to make its occupation as uncomfortable as possible to the victors; while the latter employed themselves in destroying its splendid docks and har-

bours, to prevent if possible any future restoration of Sebastopol. This monotony was only interrupted by tidings of the fall of Kars, one of the important episodes of the campaign.

Since the commencement of hostilities, the war had been waged by Russia against Turkey not only in Europe, but also in Asia Minor; and while the sultan had ordered the formation of an army 50,000 strong, to be collected at Kars and Erzeroum, for the defence of these places,

which were chiefly menaced by the enemy, the brave refugee Hungarian commander, Guyon, had been sent to benefit this army of Kars, as it was called, with his European experience, and as the principal adviser of its unskilled incompetent commanders. But these commanders, after raising only 40,000 men, put the money allowed for the surplus number into their own pockets: and as for the counsels of Guyon, they despised them as those of a foreigner and a Christian. It fared with such selfishness and bigotry as might have been expected. They were beaten at Bagazid, and still more heavily at Karuk Derè, from which utter rout the Bashi-Bazouks fled to Kars, proclaiming that all was lost. And so it would have been if the Russians had but advanced upon Kars and Erzeroum; but apprehensive of an attack from Schamyl and his Circassians both on flank and rear, Prince Bebutoff, the Russian commander, paused, and allowed the opportunity to escape. The Circassians and their daring prophet-soldier did indeed appear on the 20th of August (1854) in front of the capital of Georgia, only fifteen days after the defeat of the Turkish army near Kars, and by their neighbourhood Prince Bebutoff was so retarded, that the runaway pachas had time to rally for a fresh resistance. But it would only have been to be beaten more thoroughly than ever, had not the transference of the war of the allies to the Crimea found more urgent occupation for the Russian troops; and thus Anatolia for the present escaped.

This relief, however, was nothing more than temporary, and more decisive measures were necessary to secure the province from becoming a Russian possession. The capture of Kars being still an important object with General Mouravieff, the Russian commander, while its retention was of equal moment to the allies, in order to secure it for Turkey, the British government, at the end of July, 1854, had sent Lieutenant-colonel Williams, as our queen's commissioner, to the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia, to act there in communication with, and under the orders of Lord Raglan, obtaining in the meantime from the Turkish government every facility for the discharge of his important office. After the necessary negotiations for these purposes at Varna and at Constantinople, Colonel Williams (now raised to the rank of general) arrived in the province of Kars on the 14th of September, where he found the Turkish army 28,000 strong, but in a miserable state of destitution, as many of the soldiers had received no pay for nearly two years. His first duty in this case was to provide for the efficiency of the army by obtaining the necessary supplies for it, but his applications

to that effect appear to have been neglected by our ambassador at Constantinople. In this way time was wasted in a weary and fruitless correspondence, and the Russian army under Mouravieff was concentrating upon Kars, when



GENERAL WILLIAMS.—From a daguerreotype by Mayall.

at last Omar Pacha, who had been urgent for its relief, obtained three Turkish battalions for that purpose from the Crimea, and with these, and other troops which composed a force of 15,000 men, he sailed to Redoute-Kaleh.

This aid was not obtained until towards the close of September (1855), but on the 16th of June, the commencement of the Mahometan festival of the Bairam, the attack upon Kars had commenced. The defence was gallantly maintained under the directions of General Williams, and the British officers who had accompanied him to Kars, and the first Russian attack was successfully repelled. But the town was closely invested; the forage of the besieged began to fail, and their horses were rapidly dying from sheer starvation. In this difficulty, General Williams permitted such of the cavalry as were still mounted, to the number of 1000, to make a night attempt on the 3d of September to cut their way through the enemy. For this purpose they stole silently from the town in the dark, and although the alarm when they reached the Russian outposts was raised, and volleys of musketry were poured upon them, they succeeded, although with some loss, in cutting their way through the enemy's lines, and securing their escape.

The Russians now decided to make a second general attack upon the town on the 29th of September; and to throw the besieged off their guard, they made pretended arrangements for a retreat, giving out that they were going to march

into Georgia. But the pretence was easily detected by General Williams, and the garrison incited to double watchfulness. The attack was made on the 29th, while the morning was still dark, by three Russian columns supported by twenty-four guns, who advanced on three different parts of the line of defence, hoping to surprise the garrison, and carry the town by a single onset; but when they came within range, they were unexpectedly met at every point by such a destructive fire as showed them that their purpose was anticipated. Although thus taken at unawares, the Russian left column of attack dashed forward with loud hurrahs, and rushed up the hill against the redoubts and breast-works; but here they were arrested by volleys of musketry, and at last driven down the slope in wild disorder. Nor did it fare better with the right column, although at first they were more successful; they turned the Tamash defences on the western extremity of the steep rocky range of hills on which Kars is situated, and penetrated to the rear of the Turkish position; but here they were brought to a pause by three bodies of reinforcements who unexpectedly confronted them, and were finally driven down the hill by a sortie from the garrison of the Tamash redoubts. The third point of Russian attack, which was upon that portion of the fortifications called the English tabiahs (or redoubts), was made with an

overwhelming force that at first carried all before it, until battalions of infantry that had been sent to reinforce them arrived, and drove back the enemy with a close bayonet charge. The Russians were thus defeated in every attempt, and across the whole line; they hastily withdrew to their encampment, and were followed in their retreat by a cannonade, that added heavily to their killed and wounded. It was a gallant defence, more especially when the Turkish combatants had been working and watching four months in the trenches. The garrison was also suffering from cholera, and seven hours were spent in close destructive fighting. Justly did General Williams say of them, "They have proved themselves worthy of the admiration of Europe, and established an undoubted claim to be placed amongst the most distinguished of its troops." But what shall we say of Williams himself, and his brave countrymen and assistants, Lieutenant-colonel Lake, Major Teesdale, and Captain Thompson? But for them, Kars would have fallen. Turkish valour needs nothing but able commanders, and these our country had supplied. The Russian loss in this one attack was immense. Five thousand bodies were left on the field, and 7000 dead and wounded were carried off, while the loss of the besieged scarcely exceeded 1000 men.

But hunger was now to effect what the enemy could not accomplish. The blockade was kept



GENERAL VIEW OF KARS.¹—From Lake's Account of the Siege of Kars.

up so closely that no supplies could be introduced into the town, and in a short time famine of the most gaunt and revolting character predominated over all classes. The brave defenders, lean, pale, and feeble, were by the 17th of October no longer like the heroes of the 29th of September, who had driven the enemy from their gates.

¹ The leading points of interest are indicated by flying birds. *One bird*—Ruined castle of Terrim Pasha and Armenian suburb. *Two birds*—Castle and town of Kars. *Three birds*—Thompson's Tabiah, marked by group of tents at top of the distant hill. *Four birds*—Teesdale Tabiah on the hill, and the suburb of Beiram Pasha at the foot.

The dogs scratched the bodies of the soldiers from their graves and fed upon them; the very grass was carefully gathered in the open spaces, and its roots used as food; and crowds of women and children were moaning in the streets, and sinking and dying of starvation. The miseries of Kars were like those of ancient Jerusalem when the Roman armies encompassed it; and by the 24th of November, resistance, which was impossible, would also have been unavailing. No help moreover could be afforded by Omar Pasha, who had landed at Redoute-Kaleh for the pur-

pose of raising the siege, although by the 1st of November he had reached the river Ingour with 20,000 soldiers, chiefly Turkish, and a few French and British reinforcements. He was confronted on the opposite side of the river by a Russian army strongly entrenched; and in endeavouring to cross the river by two different fords on the 6th of November, each attempt was baffled, and the Russians remained in possession of the Ingour. He then tried it at a third place, and was more successful; but although he thus wrested the whole of the left bank of the river from the enemy, the latter fell back only to entrench themselves anew on the river Tsiva, on the road to Kutais. The fate of Kars was sealed, for its last morsel was eaten; and on the 24th of November, General Williams made overtures for surrender. The proposal was received with courtesy and humanity, and the terms were honourable alike to the besiegers of Kars and its brave defenders. The garrison was to march out with the honours of war; in depositing their arms at a place appointed, the officers of all ranks were to retain their swords; and while the subjects of the belligerent powers were to be prisoners of war, the inhabitants of the town were to be placed under the protection of the Russian government, and the Turkish militia allowed to return to their homes. "Thus, with the surrender of Kars," adds General Mouravieff in his report, "the last remnant of the army of Anatolia, which in last June numbered 30,000 men, has vanished. The Mushir, Vassif Pacha, commander-in-chief of that army, is himself a prisoner of war in our hands, without counting eight pachas, and a great number of superior and subaltern officers, including the English general Williams and his whole staff. In the fortress we took 130 cannon and a great stock of arms." It was a dispiriting blow to the cause of Turkey, and as such it was felt not only at Constantinople, but in the allied army of the Crimea, and in Paris and London. General Williams and his officers, on being carried prisoners into Russia, were treated with all the courtesy that is due to a gallant enemy.

Our operations by sea during this war now demand our notice. It was for these that our preparations had been the greatest, and correspondent exploits were expected to be performed upon our favourite element, let the events upon land be what they might. Of the achievements of our fleet in the Black Sea, while it accompanied the land expedition, incidental notices have already been given. But independently of this squadron, another and still more powerful fleet was despatched from the Downs to the Baltic on the 13th of March, 1854, under the command of the hero of Acre, Vice-admiral Sir Charles

Napier, consisting of eight screw line-of-battle ships, four screw frigates, and four paddle-wheel steamers, which was subsequently reinforced in Kioge Bay by the *Neptune* (120), the *James Watt* (91), the *Roseawen* (72), and several other ships of



ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER.
From a print by Porter, after a picture by John Simpson

war. Against such a force and with such a commander what available resistance could Russia be expected to offer? To the same quarter, the French despatched in April a squadron of twenty-three ships, carrying 1250 guns, under the command of Vice-admiral Parseval-Deschênes. The first operations of our fleet were of the most promising character. A rigorous blockade was established in the Gulf of Finland, and the different ports along the coast were so closely shut up that not a Russian vessel could show itself in the Baltic. The enemy had therefore to be sought, and early in May, Admiral Plumridge was sent with a portion of the fleet to cruise in the Gulf of Bothnia. This he did so effectually, that between the 5th of that month and the 10th of June, when he rejoined Sir Charles Napier, he had destroyed forty-six merchant vessels, about 50,000 barrels of tar, and an immense quantity of naval stores, without the loss of a man. But an attempt of two of his ships, the *Odin* and *Vulture*, at Gamla Karleby, was not so successful. The water was so shallow that the ships were obliged to anchor five miles off the port, while four boats were manned and sent in to take possession of whatever vessels and stores might be found there. But the Russians on shore opened up from an ambuscade such a fire upon the boats for upwards of an hour, that fifty-four of our officers and men were killed, wounded and captured, and the *Vulture's* paddle-box boat taken. A more daring and more fortunate expedition

later in May was accomplished by the *Hecla* and *Arrogant*, that sailed from Hango Pay, seven miles up a narrow river, to Eckness, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation, destroyed a powerful battery that opened fire upon them, routed with volleys of grape and canister a troop of horse artillery and a large body of infantry, and having cut out a large and richly-laden merchantman, returned with it in tow through an enemy's country to Hango.

The next naval movement was against the Aland Islands in the Gulf of Bothnia. This large cluster, consisting of 80 inhabited and 200 uninhabited islands, occupying a space of about 352 square miles, and situated between the gulf and the Baltic Sea, and near the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, had formerly belonged to Sweden, but been ceded by that country to Russia in 1809. The great fortress of these islands was Bomarsund, situated at their most easterly point, upon a tongue of land, and was guarded in its approaches by two marshy swamps, while its chief works consisted of a fort and a long line of batteries, all of them of granite, besides an earth-work battery that had been recently constructed. Altogether it was a place of great strength, and furnished with powerful means of resistance. Three steamships of the allied fleet, the *Olin*, *Hecla*, and *Valorous*, which in the first instance had been sent to reconnoitre these islands, had opened up a discharge of shells upon Bomarsund,

miral Chads with eight ships British and French, was joined in Lumpar Bay, on the south side of Bomarsund, by a French expeditionary force of 10,000 men under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and on the following day the landing was effected, and the siege commenced. The resistance, however, was neither proportioned to the strength of the place, nor the importance that had been attached to it, for on the 15th a breach was made in the walls, its guns were silenced, and a white flag was hoisted in token of surrender. Thus easily was the capture effected with scarcely a score of men killed and wounded among the allies, while the capture consisted of nearly 200 guns and 2235 prisoners. After demolishing and blowing up the works, by which the labour of years was destroyed in a few hours, the armament withdrew from the Aland Islands. With the fall of Bomarsund, the naval operations of the year were at an end.

During the summer of this year, a small squadron had been employed in the White Sea; but except the destruction of certain stores of the Russian government in Shayley Island, the bombardment of Novitska, and the destruction of Kola, the capital of Russian Lapland, nothing of particular notice was effected by this squadron, which soon after returned to England. But there was a fatal offset to these trivial successes, in the disaster that befel an allied squadron at Petropaulowski. This town, the principal seaport of

the Russian province of Kamtschatka, received an hostile visit from three French and three British vessels, that anchored before it on the 28th of August, and the fire with which they were immediately greeted from the batteries showed the readiness of the town for a stout resistance. This resistance also was likely to be formidable, on account of the natural as well as artificial defences of Petropaulowski; for its horse-shoe shaped harbour was guarded in front by a natural breakwater of sand, and a masked battery of twelve thirty-six pounders; while behind, the town, which lies in a hollow,



TOWER OF THE FORTRESS OF BOMARSUND.—From *L'Illustration*, 1854.

which they had continued for seven hours so effectually, that had it lasted but a little longer it was thought the fortress must have surrendered, as its roof had been blown up, and some of its works been set on fire. It was now to be besieged in form, and its fall attended with greater dignity. On the 7th of August (1854) Rear-ad-

miral Chads with eight ships British and French, was joined in Lumpar Bay, on the south side of Bomarsund, by a French expeditionary force of 10,000 men under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and on the following day the landing was effected, and the siege commenced. The resistance, however, was neither proportioned to the strength of the place, nor the importance that had been attached to it, for on the 15th a breach was made in the walls, its guns were silenced, and a white flag was hoisted in token of surrender. Thus easily was the capture effected with scarcely a score of men killed and wounded among the allies, while the capture consisted of nearly 200 guns and 2235 prisoners. After demolishing and blowing up the works, by which the labour of years was destroyed in a few hours, the armament withdrew from the Aland Islands. With the fall of Bomarsund, the naval operations of the year were at an end.

from what cause, unless it was some sudden access of frenzy, it was impossible to discover. On the following day, the attack was resumed; but although two batteries were successively silenced, the masked battery which we have mentioned kept up such a successful fire, as obliged the ships that assailed it to fall back out of range. On the day after, a landing was made, not only to bury the body of the admiral, but to make an attempt upon the town, which, the allies were assured by two Americans who offered to be the guides of the landing party, was open to an attack in the rear. Seven hundred soldiers were sent upon this service, and after silencing two batteries on shore northward of the town, the party was landed. But instead of keeping upon the main road, they scrambled in disorderly fashion up the hills at the back part of the town, and were picked off as they advanced by Russian sharpshooters, concealed among the thick brushwood. A march into the town was hopeless, and a retreat was sounded: but the soldiers withdrew so hurriedly, that they lost themselves among the hills; they were plied with volleys by an unseen foe, were driven like sheep to the brink of a precipice between them and the shore, and were only extricated with difficulty, and after heavy loss, by the guns of the ships, and a rearguard that was sent to their relief. Although upon a small scale, this expedition was conspicuous from first to last by its blunders and disasters; and the self-congratulations of British and French of their deeds during this war will occasionally be crossed and qualified by the admonitory name of Petropaulowski. In a day or two after, the damaged vessels had to quit the coast and retire to San Francisco.

By the approach of winter our naval operations for 1854 were suspended, and nothing could be undertaken till the ensuing spring. But what the while had been effected by those magnificent fleets which Britain and France had equipped at so great an expense, and upon which they had placed such unbounded confidence? Why was not Cronstadt bombarded? How had St. Petersburg itself escaped untouched? It seemed as if our naval spirit had expired with Nelson, and its glories been extinguished at Trafalgar. So fierce was the popular indignation, so loud the national outcry, that the British admiralty was obliged to find a scape-goat and a victim, and one, too, of no inferior mark, so that on the return of Sir Charles Napier from the Baltic, he was directed to haul down his flag. It was alleged that he had not done all that his means permitted, and the command of the Baltic was transferred from him to Rear-admiral Dundas. This could not be done without an indignant remonstrance on the part of the gallant veteran:

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he complained that the blame lay with the admiralty itself, who had so crippled him by restrictions, that he could not attack Sweaborg until it was too late to succeed. A keen controversy upon the subject between Sir Charles and their lordships was the consequence, which has not yet terminated, and into which we have no desire to enter, being so mixed, as it soon became, with political heats and party arguments. With a new admiral and redoubled efforts it was hoped that our operations for 1855 in the Baltic would be more successful, and on the 19th of April there were eighty-five English and sixteen French ships of war in that sea, carrying 2506 guns.

The renewed hostilities at sea, in the absence of any naval action, were signalized in 1855 by a serious charge of treachery against the Russians, a charge which weighed more heavily against them than any defeat could have done. Admiral Dundas having permitted Captain Fanshawe of the *Cossack*, to liberate three Russian prisoners, that officer, on arriving off Hango Island in the Gulf of Finland, on the 5th of June, landed the three prisoners with four others, in a cutter bearing a flag of truce. Scarcely, however, had this been done, than the boat's crew was fired upon, notwithstanding their flag of truce, and the whole killed except one man, who escaped wounded with the boat. At the same time, a small party, with the British lieutenant in command, who had advanced from the shore to communicate with the people and the officer of the telegraph, were suddenly attacked by a party of soldiers, seized, placed in carriages that had apparently been kept in readiness for the purpose, and hurried off to Eckness as prisoners. This foul breach of the law of nations led to indignant remonstrance on the part of Admiral Dundas, both with General de Berg, the Russian commandant at Helsingfors, and with Prince Dolgorouky, the Russian minister at war; but their answers were only shuffling attempts to prove the whole matter a mistake, and to throw the entire blame of it upon the party who had landed. To establish this view of the case also, recourse was had to misrepresentation and falsehood. They declared that the boat's crew had exhibited no white flag, or at least, such an one as was visible; that on finding no soldiers on shore, they had commenced hostilities at their landing, by setting fire to some huts and boats; and that the cutter itself in which they had arrived, was armed and provided for such deeds of aggression. Such were the statements unblushingly made by the Russian authorities, but which were successfully refuted by Lieutenant Geneste, the officer in command of the cutter's party, after he had returned from his Russian prison to England.

By this hostile deed, as paltry as it was perfidious, and from which no advantage could be gained, the enemy sullied the glory of their arms, and the esteem to which they were entitled by their efforts and their sacrifices. It was an instance of Slavonic treachery which, with others of a similar kind that occurred during this war, will be remembered to the disadvantage of Russia, until she has effaced this blot upon her national character by a course of manly openness, kindness, and integrity.

The great aim of the allied fleet was the capture or destruction of Cronstadt. This strong seaport, situated on the long flat island of Kotlin, near the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Finland, opposite the mouth of the Neva, lay provokingly across the way to the entrance of St. Petersburg, from which it was only twenty miles distant; but the narrowness of its channel on the south side of Kotlin, by which only one vessel could pass at a time, from the gulf to the capital, the effectual manner in which its guns commanded this passage, and the strength of its vast fortifications, which made every approach an experiment of the utmost hazard, had compelled Sir Charles Napier, as they now did his successor, to respect its strength, and keep at a wary distance. For more than three weeks, the allied fleet, consisting of forty ships, lay off the north side of Cronstadt without risking an attack; and they finally weighed anchor on the 14th of July, to make a more hopeful attempt upon Sweaborg. This fortress, on the north side of the Gulf of Finland, and about three miles south-east of Helsingfors, occupies seven little islands, all of them strongly fortified, and communicating with each other by bridges of boats. Of these islands, the chief is Vargoe, on which the principal fort is erected, consisting of a strong castle, and extensive magazines and barracks cut out of the rock, and bomb-proof. The numerous walls and ramparts by which the narrow channels between the islands and also the bay at every point were commanded, were bristled with 2000 pieces of cannon; and since the war commenced, the Russians had erected new earthworks upon commanding sites. On the 6th of August, the allied fleet arrived off Sweaborg, and the two following days were employed in preparations for an attack. On the morning of the 9th, the work commenced by a discharge from the mortar-vessels upon the fortress; and these were followed almost immediately by the gun-boats, that moved in a circle to avoid giving a fair mark to the enemy, and delivered their fire in the course of their revolution, first from the gun at the bow, and afterwards from that astern. The effect of these mortars and gun-boats was tremendous: their shot, that fell within the line of the batteries, produced a

succession of explosions that resembled volcanoes, in which military stores were kindled and sent blazing aloft, and huge masses of rock, beams of timber, and fragments of houses were scattered in the air. At eight o'clock in the evening the gun-boats were recalled, and their places supplied by rocket-boats, which during the night kept the atmosphere in a destructive blaze, and extended the conflagration to those parts that had escaped during the day. So terrible, indeed, and close was the fire, that a large three-decker which the Russians had moored between the islands of Gustavswerd and Bak Holmen, with her broadside towards the sea, so as to block up the channel, had to be removed during the night to save her from destruction. Soon after three o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the bombardment of the previous day was renewed, and was continued till evening, while within Sweaborg, the arsenals and stores behind the line of batteries continued to blaze with increasing violence. It was no wonder that the destruction had been so wide and wasteful, as a thousand tons of iron in shot and shell had been thrown into the place by the English alone. But except this destruction of arsenals, stores, and dwelling-houses, little had been effected; the forts were too well defended to be assailed, as well as too strong to be shaken by the hurricane; and the ships, instead of being sent against them for a contest of broadsides, were cautiously kept aloof, and mortar-vessels sent in their stead. "Seeing the impossibility of obtaining any decisive success," writes the Russian general De Berg, in his account of the bombardment, "against our fortifications and batteries, the assailants evidently resolved to take advantage of the long range of their projectiles, and exposing themselves as little as possible to our fire, to demolish and set fire to the buildings inside the fortress, a task rendered easy by the existence of wooden houses, and large houses three stories high, not arched. Suspecting their plan," the general adds, "I ordered from the commencement of the combat, our batteries not to fire unless the enemy's vessels, which offered but a small target, came within a range which would allow our artillery to do them a serious mischief. This order was obeyed with that praiseworthy coolness which distinguishes a really good artillery, and with such success, that whenever an enemy's vessel advanced from its line of battle, the well-directed fire of our batteries immediately compelled it to retire." In this skilful manner, any plan of the allied fleet for a decisive attack upon Sweaborg was rendered hopeless, and mischief, not victory, could be the only result of continuing the bombardment. It therefore ceased on the morning of the 11th—and thus terminated the naval operations of 1855.

On the return of the French and English ships, which the rapid approach of winter in the Baltic Sea rendered necessary at an early period, they found but a cold welcome at home on account of the little that had still been accomplished; and it was complained, that all the damage inflicted upon Sweaborg, was scarcely worth the cost of the powder and shot that had been thrown away in the enterprise.

The commencement of 1856 found the allied armies still occupied in the destruction of the harbours and public works of Sebastopol, while the Russians, from their neighbouring encampment, were sternly watching these proceedings, and treasuring them up in their memory for future vengeance. But even already peace was at hand. At his accession, the new czar found himself entangled in a war which he had not originated, and the plan of which he must have found himself unable to carry out; and as he was not pledged to continue it for evil or for good, he might gracefully retire from it when a fitting opportunity had arrived. And even now it had come, when the surrender of Kars could be shown as an offset to the evacuation of Sebastopol. While his pride was thus saved from the humiliation of defeat, peace was necessary for the interests of his empire. The war had been a losing one, in which the arms of Russia had suffered four signal defeats; a powerful enemy was established on its frontier, whose advance might be accompanied with still worse disasters than a conquest of the Crimea; and at sea its ports were blocked up, its ships destroyed, and its commerce suspended. For the present, Russia was obliged to contend against four great powers, but it was certain that the addition of a fifth would suffice to turn the scale; and there was now the prospect of Austria joining the warlike coalition of France, Britain, Sardinia, and Turkey, and sending her armed myriads to co-operate in the common cause. To these might be added the moral and political reforms already contemplated for the Russians to bring them up to the scale of other nations, but which war would retard, or might possibly even defeat and set aside. Nor were the allied powers unwilling to listen to peaceful overtures. To them the war had been both costly and ruinous, of which the glory was scarcely equal to the price. It was also thought dangerous still further to provoke Russia, that young Titan of the nations, which had already shown such strength and resources, and been taught by each recent struggle the lesson of its own power. If by any treaty also Turkey could be saved from dismemberment—for the present at least—the object for which the allies had taken arms would be effected, and the evil day which is reckoned inevitable be postponed.

The public manifestations of this peaceful spirit were given on the part of Russia at the close of the preceding year. This was done by a despatch of the government to its diplomatic agents on the 22d of December, announcing through them to the courts at which they resided its desire for peace, and the sacrifices it was willing to make for it. After this overture, a neutral negotiator was needed to interpose with friendly offices, and bring the contending parties to a mutual understanding; and this was undertaken by Austria, which had a vital interest in the question, but had as yet kept aloof from the contest. A negotiation was accordingly opened between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, to ascertain the conditions upon which the latter was willing to treat; and as these appeared sufficiently moderate, a meeting of plenipotentiaries was assembled at Paris, on the 26th February, for the settlement of an armistice, and the terms of a lasting peace. The representatives for Great Britain were the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Cowley; for Austria, Count de Buol Schauenstein and Baron de Hübnier; for France, Count Colonna Walewski and Baron de Bourqueney; for Russia, Count Orloff and Baron de Brunow; for Sardinia, Count de Cavour and the Marquis di Villamarina; and for Turkey, Ali Pacha and Mehemmed Djemil Bey. According to the etiquette established on such occasions, Count Walewski, as the representative of the sovereign in whose capital the plenipotentiaries were to hold their meetings, was appointed president during the sittings of the conference.

The armistice, which was of easy settlement, was the first subject of discussion, and it was agreed that it should continue till the 31st of March, unless renewed till after that period by common consent; and that during this interval both armies and fleets should retain their present respective situations, but without any hostile movement on either side. After this, the sittings of the conference lasted till the 30th of March, on which day the treaty of peace was definitively signed, but the ratifications of which were not exchanged until the 27th of April. They were in substance as follows:—

The territories conquered or occupied during the war were to be reciprocally evacuated.

The town and citadel of Kars, as well as other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops were in possession, were to be restored to Turkey.

The four allied powers were to restore to Russia the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Jenikale, and Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

The allied powers, and also the Czar of Russia

and the Emperor of Austria, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to partake in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. The six Christian sovereigns also engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire; to guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and to consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

Should any misunderstanding arise between the Sublime Porte and one or other of the signing powers, that might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Porte, and each of such powers, before having recourse to arms, shall afford the other contracting parties an opportunity of mediating between them.

The sultan having already issued a firman for the welfare of his subjects, without distinction of religion or race, and which records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, now communicates to the contracting parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will. The contracting parties, while recognizing the value of this communication, clearly understand that it does not give them the right, either collectively or separately, to interfere between the sultan and his subjects, or in the internal administration of his empire.

In regard to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, it was agreed, that the rule should continue in force; that no ships of war belonging to foreign powers should enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; and that so long as the Porte is at peace, the sultan shall admit no foreign ships of war to enter the said straits: and on the other hand, the contracting powers engage to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared. By a second article, the sultan reserves to himself, as in times past, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the missions of foreign powers. By a third article, it is declared, that the same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war, which each of the contracting powers is authorized to station at the mouths of the Danube in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

In regard, also, to the amount of naval forces which Russia and Turkey might respectively keep in the Black Sea, it was agreed in a separate convention between these two powers, that each should maintain in that sea six steam vessels of fifty metres in length, and not beyond 800 tons burden each vessel, and four light steam

or sailing vessels of not more than 200 tons each. It was agreed, moreover, that the Aland Islands should not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment should be maintained or created there.

The Black Sea to be neutralized, and its waters and ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation; and either of the powers possessing its coasts, or any other power, are interdicted from the use of the flag of war upon it, with such exceptions as Russia and Turkey shall fix by a separate convention. The commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea being freed from any impediment, was to be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police; and to insure the security of this commerce, consuls were to be admitted into the ports upon the coast, according to the principles of international law.

No toll was to be levied upon the navigation of the Danube, nor duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. With exception of the regulations of the police and quarantine, to be afterwards framed to facilitate the passage of vessels, no obstacle whatever was to be opposed to the navigation of the river.

In return for the towns and ports restored to Russia by this treaty, and to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, the czar consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia. This frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bourna Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akermann road, shall follow that road to the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the river Yalpuck to the height of Saratsika, and terminate at Katamosi on the Pruth. Above that point the old frontier between the two empires shall not undergo any modification.

With regard to the principalities, which had been such a fruitful source of strife, it was agreed that the territory ceded by Russia was to be annexed to Moldavia; that the inhabitants of this principality should enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the other principalities; and that during the space of three years they should be permitted to dispose of their property freely, and transfer their domiciles elsewhere. This principality and that of Wallachia were to continue under the suzerainty of the Porte, without any exclusive protection of a foreign power, or any separate right of interference in their internal affairs; and the Porte engages to preserve for them an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation. The same rights and liberties were to be accorded to the principality of Servia, under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers.

On the other *quæstio cerata* between Turkey

and Russia respecting their possessions in Asia, it was agreed between the czar and the sultan that these should remain as they had existed before the breaking out of the war; and that in order to prevent all local dispute, the line of frontier should be verified, and if necessary rectified, without any prejudice as regards territory to either party.

The territories occupied during the war by the allied troops were to be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. The periods and the means of evacuation were to form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the powers whose troops had occupied its territory.

Such were the terms of this memorable pacification, by which the ambitious aggressions of Russia were checked, and the dismemberment or downfall of Turkey averted. The tidings of the conclusion of an armistice reached the Crimea on the 28th of February; and on the afternoon of the same day, as if to signalize the cessation of hostilities, a pile of edifices in Sebastopol, called the White Buildings, was blown into the air. When the armistice was duly proclaimed on the following day, and the terms of it arranged between the contending armies, the officers and soldiers, between whom there would otherwise have been only a meeting of contention to the death, were now to be seen mixed together in mutual good humour and the interchange of friendly offices—and this, although peace was as yet uncertain, and although its failure might renew the war with more than its former bitterness. On the 2d of April all suspense was at an end among the armies by the proclamation of peace, which was announced with a discharge of 101 guns, and followed by the bustle of preparation for the evacuation of the Crimea. This event finally took place on the 12th of July, on which day General Codrington, the British commander-in-chief, formally gave up Sebastopol and Balaklava to the Russians. But what a surrender! The whole war had been concentrated at Sebastopol, which city was now the type of all its miseries and its desolation—the tomb equally of those who had assailed and those who had defended it; and even on receiving it back, the Russians must have read in its appearance a painful lesson of warning. As it then was, its aspect is thus described by an eloquent writer, from whose pages we have already quoted:—

“Had fire been rained down from heaven upon the devoted city its annihilation could not have been more complete. The stranger who halted to survey it from the neighbouring heights, deceived by the whitewashed and plastered walls of the houses, might think that Sebastopol was still a city; but when he walked through the

grass-grown deserted streets, formed by endless rows of walls alone, or roofless shells of houses, in which not one morsel of timber could be seen from threshold to eaves; when he beheld great yawning craters, half-filled with mounds of cut stone, heaped together in irregular masses; when he gazed on tumuli of disintegrated masonry—once formidable forts, and shaken as it were into dust and powder; when he stumbled over the fragments of imperial edifices, to peer down into the great gulfs, choked up with rubbish, which marked the site of the great docks of the Queen of the Euxine, and beheld the rotting masts and hulls of the sunken navy which had been nurtured there; when he observed that what the wrath of the enemy spared was fast crumbling away beneath the fire of its friends, and that the churches where they worshipped, the theatres, the public monuments, had been specially selected for the practice of the Russian gunners, as though they were emulous of running a race in destruction with the allied armies—he would no doubt have come to the conclusion that the history of the world afforded no such authentic instance of the annihilation of a great city. It is hard to believe that the site can ever be made available for the erection of houses or the construction of docks; but I am by no means certain that the immense resources in the command of manual labour possessed by the government of Russia, of which this very struggle afforded us all such striking proofs, in the Quarantine battery, the Bastion Centrale, the Bastion du Mât, the Redan, the Mamelon, and the Malakoff, may not be made available in time to clear away these modern ruins, and to rebuild houses, theatres, palaces, churches, forts, arsenals, and docks, as before.”¹

In thus giving a consecutive account of the Crimean war from the commencement to the close, we have been obliged wholly to overlook our political and internal history. The greater part indeed of public attention, as well as the principal debates of parliament, were occupied with the fluctuations of this momentous war, according to which stocks rose and fell, and hope or despondency predominated. But other subjects, although less obtrusive at the time, characterized the history of the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, of which we can only give a very brief recapitulation.

At the commencement of the first of the above-mentioned years, the feeling of public insecurity upon the question of peace or war, and the doubtful state of our foreign relations, produced their usual effects upon mercantile activity and enterprise. There was added to these drawbacks

¹ Russell's *British Expedition to the Crimea*, p. 582. London, 1858.

a partial dearth throughout Europe, by which the prices of our manufactures were raised, and the demand for them diminished. But these causes, which depressed the mercantile interests, were favourable to those of the agriculturists, who, it was remarked, were more prosperous and more contented than they had been for many previous years.

The first important business introduced this session into parliament unconnected with the war was the subject of parliamentary reform. To this introduction the ministers considered themselves pledged; and they now ventured to fulfil the obligation, notwithstanding the imminent prospect of war, which might seem to make the proposal unseasonable. This objection was stated by Earl Grey in the House of Lords on the 10th of February, and he expressed his apprehension that a disapproval of this reform bill at a season so critical might occasion a dissolution of parliament, or a resignation of the ministry. At all events it ought not to be introduced until at least the navy and army estimates, and the measure for extending the militia force, had been disposed of. The objections which were urged in both houses were overruled, and on the 13th of February Lord John Russell moved for leave to introduce "A bill further to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people in England and Wales." In his speech he stated how much had been effected in parliamentary reform since 1793, and what encouragement this afforded for the removal of three main defects in the reform act which had been left untouched. These were—1. The existence of several boroughs that still retained the power of sending members to parliament, although the number of their electors scarcely justified their possession of such a privilege. These he proposed to disfranchise altogether, to the number of sixty-two seats. Another defect in the reform act was in the division of the counties, which he proposed to remedy by taking population generally as the rule to be applied, and thus filling the sixty-two vacant seats from districts sufficiently populous, but that were still unrepresented. The third defect in the reform act which his bill proposed to remove was the absolute rule of the ten-pound borough franchise; and this he sought to modify by making several new franchises common to counties and towns, of which the qualifications of a voter should be £100 of yearly salary—£10 a year dividends derived from the government funds, bank stock, or East India stock—the payment of 40s. a year either to income-tax or assessed taxes—the being a graduate at any university in the United Kingdom—or, finally, any person having had a deposit of £50 in a savings-bank for not less than three years. In the fran-

chises belonging exclusively to counties and boroughs, his lordship proposed that the electoral qualification for the counties should be, that £10 householders should have a dwelling of the value of £5 a year, and for the boroughs, all householders rated at above £6 a year, with two years and a half of municipal residence.

Such is a brief outline of Lord John Russell's new parliamentary reform bill, and the discussion that followed indicated how greatly the ministers had its success at heart. But the opposition with which it was encountered, together with the unfortunate season of its appearance, when a new war and new taxes were apprehended by all classes, made the wisdom of its introduction and its chances of success equally a matter of doubt. This was shown by the postponement of the second reading, which was not to come on until the 27th of April. So strongly, however, had the opposition increased, that on the 11th Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons the intention of the ministers to abandon the bill. When war was merely in prospect, he stated, this circumstance was not of itself enough for deferring such a measure of internal improvement; but now that war was actually declared, and that the public had shown an indifference to this, as well as every other question, government had judged it advisable to drop for the present their plan of parliamentary reform. He was moved even to tears as he announced this abandonment of the great project of his life, while the long and enthusiastic cheers of the house was a gratifying expression of their sympathy and esteem.

In two other bills connected with parliamentary reform, Lord John Russell was more successful: one of these was, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to bribery, treating, and undue influence at elections of members; the other, to amend the law for the trial of election petitions, and for inquiring into the existence of corrupt practices at elections. To check these practices, he proposed that a person guilty of bribery should be for ever incapable of being elected a member of parliament; and that the name of a voter accepting a bribe should be struck out of the register of voters. After much discussion on the subject, and many changes upon the original motion, the bill for the suppression of bribery in parliamentary elections was carried by a majority of 107 to 100. This subject, indeed, was not so easily to be laid to rest; and demands were made during the session for more stringent rules, by which the integrity of elections should be examined and their fraudulent practices punished; but the proposals were defeated and the bills withdrawn.

The important subject of law reform in refer-

ence to the consolidation of the statutes, was brought forward by Lord Lyndhurst before the House of Lords on the 9th of February. His lordship stated that the absurdities which had already been expunged from our statute-book were only a sample of those which remained untouched. There were altogether 16,000 public general statutes, and of these nearly 14,000 might be swept away without the slightest inconvenience, while the remainder might be reduced within a reasonable compass by the process of consolidation. But this process, he was told by the lord-chancellor, had been in operation since the 31st of March, last year; that out of nearly 17,000 statutes, only 2500 were living acts of parliament; and that these, when consolidated, should be presented for the sanction of parliament. On the 27th of February, the lord-chancellor, in conformity with the intention announced in the speech from the throne, brought forward his bill for the amendment of the common law. It proposed certain modifications in trial by jury, by which, when both parties were agreed to have their case tried by the judge alone, the use of a jury might be dispensed with. It also proposed that the qualifications of jurors should be somewhat raised, and that there should be but one panel. In tendering the oath, the conscientious scruples of witnesses were to exempt them equally with Moravians, Quakers, and Separatists from taking it. The judge was also to be empowered to order refreshments for juries; and if at the end of twelve hours a jury was not unanimous, it might be liberated, and a new trial take place. These were the principal features of the lord-chancellor's bill, which was cordially received by both houses, and afterwards passed into law. Another important measure in the way of legislative reform, was in the amendment of the navigation laws, by which the hard measure of excluding foreign vessels from our coasting trade was abolished—and by this conclusive decision, the "last remaining fetters were struck off from the free navigation of the sea." These movements in the right direction were closed by the passing of a bill, introduced by the attorney-general, for the suppression of gaming-houses.

But although 101 out of 121 bills were passed during this parliamentary session, they excited little interest, the chief attention being now engrossed with the events of the war in the Crimea. Some of the most important of these bills were among the rejected, and three of them were ministerial. Indeed, the state of the public mind at the commencement of 1855 was little in favour of government, and ministers had lost the national confidence at a time when it was most necessary for their support. For nine

months the war had continued, during which our army was overworked, underfed, and wasted away by diseases occasioned through want of proper management; and with every fresh report from the Crimea that told of nothing but suffering and disaster, the charges against ministerial ineptitude became louder and more confirmed. These broke forth into full official cry as soon as parliament had re-assembled, and only two days after—the 25th of January—both parliament and the public were astounded by the resignation of



VISCOUNT PALMERSTON.
From a photograph by Herbert Watkins.

Lord John Russell. In reference to the army and the war, he confessed that evils did exist, but he could not also fairly and honestly state that all deficiencies and abuses would be immediately remedied; and in consequence of his inability to give such assurance, he felt that he could no longer remain a member of the government. After this resignation, Mr. Roebuck brought on a motion of which he had given due notice, accusing ministers of neglect and mismanagement in the war, which had led to the most disastrous results; and this was passed by a majority of 305 against 148. The fate of the coalition cabinet, as it was called, which had been formed at the season and for the purposes of peace, was sealed, and in consequence of this vote its members resigned office. A new one was constructed, chiefly, however, from the materials of the old, with certain partial changes in the distribution of office. As it now stood, Lord Palmerston was first lord of the treasury; Lord Cranworth, lord-chancellor; Earl Granville, president of the council; Duke of Argyle, lord privy-seal; Earl of Clarendon, foreign secretary; Mr. Sidney Herbert, colonial secretary; Sir

George Grey, home secretary; Lord Panmure, secretary for war; Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; Sir William Molesworth, public works; Sir Charles Wood, president of the board of control; the Marquis of Lansdowne, without office; Lord Canning, postmaster-general; Mr. Cardwell, president of the board of trade. Of these, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert resigned office. A new reconstruction of Lord Palmerston's cabinet was found necessary, the most remarkable change in which was the appointment of Lord John Russell to the office of secretary of state for the colonies, in the room of Mr. Sidney Herbert. Among the other changes, Sir G. Cornwall Lewis took the place of Mr. Gladstone; Sir C. Wood, of Sir James Graham; Mr. V. Smith, of Sir Charles Wood; Lord Stanley, of Mr. Cardwell; and Lord Carlisle, in the secretaryship of Ireland, that of Lord St. Germain's.

From the opening of parliament in 1855, until the 14th of August, when it was prorogued, the debates continued to be almost exclusively occupied with the war, of which every event was made the subject of investigation and comment. They were new subjects for parliamentary eloquence, as well as an exhaustless source of patriotism, party feeling, and ambition, and although the sittings were long, few questions of a purely social character had room for introduction. Of the 141 ministerial bills which were introduced, 108 passed into law, 32 were withdrawn, and 1 was rejected in the House of Lords. Of those which were passed that had no immediate connection with the war, the following enumeration in the royal speech at the close, which was read by the lord-chancellor, will convey a distinct though summary idea:—

"Her majesty, in giving her assent to the bill which you presented to her for the local management of the metropolis, trusts that the arrangements provided by that measure will lead to many improvements conducive to the convenience and the health of this great city. The abolition of the duty on newspapers will tend to diffuse useful information among the poorer classes of her majesty's subjects.

"The principle of limited liability, which you have judiciously applied to joint-stock associations, will afford additional facilities for the employment of capital; and the improvements which you have made in the laws which regulate friendly societies will encourage habits of industry and thrift among the labouring classes of the community.

"Her majesty trusts that the measures to which she has given her assent for improving the constitutions of New South Wales, Victoria, and

Tasmania, and for bestowing on these important and flourishing colonies an extended power of self-government, will assist the development of their great national resources, and promote the contentment and happiness of their inhabitants."

With the commencement of 1856, the feelings and the fears of commercial depression had abated, and commerce and manufactures had returned to their healthy condition. But more than even the fluctuations of trade, was the interest of the war upon the public attention. The increase of our experience in the conducting of warlike operations, the force and efficiency to which our army in the Crimea had been raised, and the abundance of our resources for carrying on the conflict, combined with the feeling that enough had not as yet been effected to counterpoise our reverses and accomplish the objects of the enterprise, made the prospect of peace generally regarded with indifference, if not with dislike. It could only be a truce at the best, instead of an enforced peace upon an ambitious enemy; and Russia would be certain to resume her projects of eastern aggrandisement as soon as her strength was renewed and an opportunity afforded. While such was the state of the public mind, the session of parliament was opened by her majesty in person; and in moving the reply to the royal speech, which was congratulatory upon these pacific prospects, the Earl of Gosford in the House of Lords gave distinct expression to the general feeling on the subject. Having declared his full belief in the necessity and justice of the war, he stated that he had looked forward with joyful anticipations to the probable result of the campaign of 1856. But the scene had changed, and he found himself suddenly, and somewhat reluctantly, an advocate of peace. The nation was only now beginning to shake off the rust of a long repose, and to make great preparations for continuing hostilities; it was natural that there should be on the part of the public a certain reluctance to suspend them; but it was doubtful how far this feeling should be indulged if the terms of peace would prevent the aggressions of Russia, not only against Turkey, but in other quarters, and leave no opening for future dispute. Thus far in his advocacy of peace he was ready to go, but no farther, and he trusted the negotiations would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

On the 5th of May the treaty of peace was debated in both houses, and every article was scrutinized and commented upon with a freedom of opinion that forms the best characteristic of a British parliament. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that each article had its eulogist and opponent. Into those conflicting opinions, however, it is not the duty of the historian to enter,

until time has tested them, and separated the false from the true. In the House of Lords, which was filled to overflowing by an eager audience, the Earl of Ellesmere moved the address upon the treaty; and in the classical eloquent speech which he delivered on the occasion, there were two subjects upon which there could be no diversity of opinion. One was a just tribute to the peaceful but painful heroism and self-devotion of Miss Nightingale, whose part in the war could not be too highly commended. "My lords," said the noble speaker, "the agony of that time has become a matter of history. The vegetation of two successive springs has obscured the vestiges of Balaklava and Inkermann. Strong voices now answer to the roll-call, and sturdy forms now cluster round the colours. The ranks are full, the hospitals are empty. The angel of mercy still lingers to the last on the scene of her labours, but her mission is all but accomplished. Those long arcades of Scutari, in which dying men sat up to catch the sound of her footstep or the flutter of her dress, and fell back on the pillow content to have seen her shadow as it passed, are now comparatively deserted. She may probably be thinking how to escape, as best she may, on her return, the demonstrations of a nation's appreciation of the deeds and motives of Florence Nightingale." The other part of the well-merited eulogiums of the eloquent peer was upon Lord Raglan, from whose head-quarters during the awful winter of complicated trials, "had radiated a moral force, a serene and unquenchable spirit of faith, and trust, and duty, which did resist, and which alone could have resisted, the combined influences of weather, privation, and fatigue, superadded to the constant changes of a defective military position, threatened in front, flank, and rear, by a brave, an able, and outnumbering army. The spell prevailed: not even discomfiture, far less disgrace—for discomfiture, and even destruction under such circumstances might have come without disgrace—fell on the banners of England." It was a noble and true, as well as a brave-hearted testimony in behalf of a departed hero, whom it had become too much the fashion to identify with some of the worst errors and mischances of the war. "I am sure," added Lord Ellesmere, in allusion to the return of peace, "that from Balaklava and Kadikoi to the ravine of the Tebernaya and the heights of Inkermann, while England's renovated battalions are shaking the earth with their tramp, and extorting alike from constant allies and former foes that ungrudging admiration which true soldiers love to feel even for 'foemen worthy of their steel'—amidst that pomp and circumstance of war's display without its terrors, and the interchange of hospitalities

between reconciled antagonists—there will be a branch of myrrh in the festival goblet, when the cup is fullest and the revel is at its height, which will make the draught bitter but wholesome. There will be a thought and a sigh for one who should have been there. They will miss among the crowds of officers of many nations the armless sleeve, the noble form, which in the hour of battle they had never far to seek—that countenance which by its winning expression was in itself a passport to the soldier's heart. Yes, there will be a thought and a sigh for him who established and maintained the footing of England on that soil, and but for whom, as I devoutly believe, the graves on Cathcart's Hill would have been now, like the *tumuli* which record in that country the reign of extinct dynasties and forgotten sovereigns, the sole memorial of the achievements and the fate of an English army."

After this speech, which was listened to throughout with profound sympathy, the Earl of Ellesmere moved the address congratulatory of the peace, which was to the following effect, and after much discussion passed by both houses:—

"To assure her majesty that, while we should have deemed it our duty cheerfully to afford her majesty our firm support if it had unfortunately been found necessary to continue the war, we have learned with joy and satisfaction that her majesty has been enabled to re-establish peace on conditions honourable to her majesty's crown, and which fully accomplish the great objects for which the war was undertaken.

"To express to her majesty the great satisfaction which we feel at finding that, while those alliances which have so mainly contributed to the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war, have been equally effective in the consolidation of peace, powers which have not taken an active part in the war have combined with the belligerents to give additional firmness to the arrangements by which the repose of Europe is in future to be protected from disturbance.

"To state to her majesty that we rejoice that, notwithstanding the great exertions which the late war has rendered necessary, the resources of the empire remain unimpaired.

"To express our hope that the peace which has now been concluded may, under the favour of Divine Providence, long continue to shed its blessings over Europe, and that harmony among governments and friendly intercourse among nations may steadily promote the progress of civilization, and secure the welfare and happiness of mankind."

To this address, which was presented to the queen by both houses at Buckingham Palace on the 8th of May, the following was her majesty's reply:—

"I receive with sincere pleasure the loyal and dutiful address which you have presented to me on this occasion.

"I heartily thank you for your cordial co-operation in the measures which I considered necessary for the prosecution of a war, which, in conjunction with my allies, I have been enabled to conduct to an honourable and successful termination, by the full accomplishment of the objects for which it was undertaken.

"It is most satisfactory to me to feel that peace has been re-established on a basis which affords the best security for its permanence, and I trust that, by God's blessing, it may long continue to promote the progress of civilization, and the happiness and welfare of mankind."

The rest of the sitting in both houses during that day was chiefly occupied in passing a vote of thanks to the officers of the navy, army, and royal marines who had taken part in the operations of the late war, and to the officers of the several corps of militia, for their zealous and meritorious services both at home and abroad. In the lords, the vote was moved by Lord Pannure, the secretary of war; and in his enumeration of the services both on land and sea, he gave a succinct view of the late conflicts and their results. Beginning with the navy, he observed that in the Baltic it had maintained the most difficult of all blockades for two years without the loss of a single ship. It had reduced one of the strongholds of the enemy; it had swept the sea of every vessel belonging to Russia; and confined to port the whole of the large navy which that power could command. In the Black Sea, it had attacked the fortresses of Sebastopol and Kinburn; and by the operations in the Sea of Azof had rendered the most valuable assistance to the army. During the course of the war, it had also furnished transport to 435,000 men and 54,000 horses. He then reviewed the services of the army from the date of its landing at Varna, its courage in the field, and its endurance and fortitude under privations and disease; and he compared its condition during the winter

of 1854 with its present state, to show the efficiency into which it had been brought through the efforts of its officers and commanders. In point of health it could bear comparison with the army at home. He then read from official returns an account of its losses from every cause, which amounted to 270 officers and 22,467 men. This was an amount which, compared with the losses of the enemy, gave us cause of thankfulness that our share had been such a light one. In the commons, where the same motion was made by Lord Palmerston and seconded by Mr. D'Israeli, the latter bore the following eloquent testimony to the worth and valour of our enemies:—"While I would join with the noble lord in the fullest expression of thanks, even to our allies—if formally we might offer them—let us remember that there are some who were not our allies, who were not the soldiers of our sovereign, to whom it would be not only generous, but, in my mind, wise to do justice. The father of poetry has told us that the strength of a conqueror cannot be more surely estimated than by the character of him whom he has conquered. Sir, the men whom the forces of the queen and her allies had to meet in the great struggle which is now concluded were no common men. The legions that triumphed under Suvoroff and conquered at the Borodino, although defeated at Sebastopol, have proved themselves foemen worthy of the united chivalry of England and of France. In doing this justice to our late opponents we are, in fact, only placing the achievements of our fellow-countrymen and our allies in their true aspect and proper position. Sir, I have great pleasure in seconding the motion of the noble lord; and if it were not presumption, I would express my opinion that when the verdict—I will not say of posterity—but that when the calm and unimpassioned verdict of the time in which we live is given upon these events, it will be acknowledged that in the late struggle our country has shown all those qualities which maintain a nation's greatness, and which prevent the decline and fall of empires."

CHAPTER XXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1857—1858.

VICTORIA.

The Crimean war followed by the Indian revolt—Dangerous increase of native soldiers in the Anglo-Indian armies—Danger to be apprehended from the Bengal army—Its mutinous spirit on the subject of greased cartridges—Conspiracy among the sepoys at Barrackpore—Breaking out of the rebellion at Berhampore—The rebels in that quarter disarmed—Mode of disseminating a rebellious spirit through the provinces—Report that the Hindoos were to be forced into Christianity—Alarm occasioned by it—Proclamation of government refuting the report—The rebellion breaks out at Meerut—The mutineers defeated and driven to Delhi—Their sanguinary excesses in Delhi—Mutiny of the city—Murder of the Europeans there—Suppression of the rebellion at Meerut—The rebels disarmed at Ferozepore—Measures of government to suppress the rebellion—Advance of British troops for the recovery of Delhi—They defeat the rebels at Badlee Ke-Serai—They defeat them again near Delhi—Blockade of Delhi by the British—Rebellion breaks out at Fettehghur, Allahabad, and Bundelcund—Cruelties perpetrated on the British by the rebels—Rebellion at Azinghur and Benares—Redeeming circumstances in the rebellion of these two places—Sharp measures for the suppression of the mutineers at Benares—Rebellion at Lucknow—Preparations of the British in that quarter to resist it—They are closely besieged in the residency—Extent of the rebellion throughout India—Its breaking out at Cawnpore—Nana Sahib—His previous history—He attacks Cawnpore—Murder of the Europeans there on their surrender—General Havelock sets out for the recovery of Cawnpore and relief of Lucknow—His rapid and splendid career—His numerous victories—He enters Cawnpore—His severe chastisement of the rebels in Cawnpore—He sets out for the relief of Lucknow—He gains a victory at Unao—His three victories at Busherat Gunge—He falls back on Cawnpore—He defeats the rebels at Bhitoor—Siege of Delhi—Commencement of active operations against the city—Storming of Delhi—Capture of the king and his sons—Execution of the king's sons—Aid given to the British by native soldiers and chiefs.



SCARCELY had Britain congratulated herself on the successful termination of the Crimean war, and begun to enjoy the return of peace, than she was startled by the tidings of a new arena that had been opened, and by a fresh demand upon her military energies and resources. In this case, also, it was to be no war with aliens, but with a people who were living under our sway; while the prize at stake was the fairest, richest, and largest portion of our foreign empire, which had broken out into rebellion, and was on the point of being lost to us for ever. India had risen in deadly revolt against our rule, while its leaders were those native armies whom we had trained to victory, and by whom our eastern supremacy had been hitherto maintained. The tidings were received with a shudder of dread and sad foreboding. Was India, then, to be lost to us even as America had been? Had the season arrived when these rich kingdoms of the East, after having been enjoyed successively by Portugal, Holland, and Britain, were to pass, as they had been wont, into the hands of new masters, or be thrown back into their ancient anarchical independence?

The nature of our hold upon India was so anomalous, that the reflective had constantly doubted of its permanence. Our conquests had been chiefly effected by native armies, and continued to be ruled by their instrumentality; but it was unreasonable to think that the mere military allegiance of the sepoy would be always

superior to those ties of nationality which connected him with the vanquished. And even if he remained insensible to the calls of patriotism and religion, it could not be expected that he would be always superior to the inducements of selfishness and ambition. He had learned his own strength, and been taught how to use it, so that he might now conquer on his own account, instead of winning kingdoms for alien taskmasters. As if also to teach these men their own strength and resources, the native armies in our service had now increased to an alarming amount as compared with the European soldiers. Each of the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had its own army; but while they mustered in all 300,000 men, of these there were only about 43,000 who were British. Of all these armies, the most efficient for useful service, as well as the most prompt for revolt, and the most to be feared in such an event, was the army of Bengal, consisting of 118,600 native, and only 22,600 European soldiers. Its cavalry were for the most part Mahometans, men imbued with all the pride and bigotry of the Koran; its infantry were the *élite* of Hindoostan, being chiefly recruited from the people of Rajpootana and Oude, the most warlike and high-spirited of the Indian races, and by whom the utmost purity of the Brahminical caste was supposed to be inherited. It was from this army accordingly that most danger had for some time been apprehended. A single random spark would be enough to set its whole religious bigotry in a blaze. And

even already, a deep cause of offence existed in the Bengal army, on account of the annexation of the kingdom of Oude by the East India Company in 1856. The people of Oude regarded this transference of their national independence, such as it was, with indignant silence, while their countrymen in the army shared in their feelings. By this act they thought not only that their national rights were trampled under foot, but their religious superiority as Brahmins of the highest class regarded with equal contempt, and destined to a similar overthrow.

These and other such causes, which had been gathering and growing for years, had already matured into a deep and widely-extended conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion in India; but the particulars of the plan, and the persons who devised it, are still involved in obscurity. It is supposed, however, that the court of Persia was the principal focus of the conspiracy, and that the Mahometans of the north of India were its chief agents and disseminators. Those men, who might be termed the Norman aristocracy of Hindoostan, owed an especial grudge to the British by whom they had been supplanted; and they endeavoured to work upon the credulity of the Hindoo soldiery, by assuring them that the British intended to overthrow their creed, and compel them to become Christians. This was enough to remind them of the conversions of Tippoo Sahib, who propagated Islamism by fire and sword. It is supposed that these Mahometan intriguers intended to replace the old King of Delhi upon the throne of his ancestors, and to rule under his name; and it is known that they were endeavouring to incite Dost Mahomed, the King of Cabool, to prepare for the invasion of the Punjab, as soon as the revolt of the Bengal army, upon which they had calculated, should leave that territory defenceless. Even these representations might have been ineffectual with the Hindoo soldiers, had they not been apparently confirmed by an act of the British government itself. This was the affair of greased cartridges, that served as the commencement of rebellion and signal of outbreak. The Enfield rifle, an improvement upon the Menié, had been introduced at the commencement of 1857 into the Bengal army; and as greased cartridges were necessary for its effective use, these were issued to the troops along with the weapon. A report immediately started up and flew abroad, that the grease employed in the preparation of these cartridges consisted of a preparation of the fat of cows and pigs—the first of these animals being the objects of Hindoo adoration, and the last of Mahometan abhorrence. The first occasion on which the rumour was heard was the following: At Dumdum, where there was a school of

practice for the new Enfield rifle, a sepoy soldier, a Brahmin, was asked by a man of low caste to be permitted to drink out of his lotah, or vessel of water, to whom he replied, "I have scoured my lotah, and you will pollute it by your touch." "You think much of your caste," said the other angrily, "but wait a little, and the Europeans will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?" The sepoy reported these words to his comrades, and they quickly reached Barrackpore, at which several native regiments were stationed. It was in vain they were assured by the government that no such grease had been used in the preparation of the paper in question, and that if they had scruples in the matter, they were at liberty to procure their own ingredients at the bazaar. The report still continued to strengthen at Barrackpore among the four native regiments stationed there; and on the 6th of February, a sepoy revealed to an officer the plot of his companions, who were alarmed with the fear of being compelled to abandon their caste and become Christians. From his revelation it appeared that these regiments intended to rise against their officers, and after plundering or burning down their bungalows, to march to Calcutta, and there attempt to seize Fort William, or failing in this, to take possession of the treasury.

This state of things was too alarming to be neglected, and measures were taken by the British commanders and officers to still the apprehensions of the native soldiery. They were publicly addressed on parade with the assurance that there was no design to make them Christians; that they could not become such without being able to read, and to understand the rules that were written in the Christian's book; and that nothing but their own free choice and request, after they had so learned, could admit them to the privilege of baptism. The issue of the obnoxious ammunition was stopped, and plans were suggested by which the cartridge might be used by tearing off the end, instead of putting it to the mouth and biting it. Native officers were also appointed to learn the process of cartridge-making in which the forbidden articles were to be excluded. But the alarm had grown too strong to be put down by such assurances or concessions: a rebellion was inevitable even where the original cause had dwindled into a mere pretext or watchword. The first open manifestation was at Barrackpore, on the morning of the 26th of February, when the 19th regiment of native infantry were ordered out on parade. Percussion caps were about to be issued to them, but these the soldiers refused to receive, declaring that it was still doubtful how the cartridges were made; and on the evening of the same day they assembled on

parade by their own authority, broke open the *bells* (small oval buildings) in which their arms were piled, and having taken possession of the weapons and ammunition, carried them off to their lines. Their commander, Colonel Mitchell, ordered them to pile arms and disperse, and on their refusal, called up the cavalry and artillery; but they still refused to obey until these troops were withdrawn, which was done accordingly. For this concession, the colonel was tried by a court of inquiry, and censured. It was resolved also to disband this dangerous regiment, and accordingly it was marched off to Barrackpoor, where the 52d and 84th queen's regiments were stationed to disarm them. But on the 29th of March, two days previous to the disbanding, while the 19th was at Barrackpoor, the rebellion commenced in bloodshed. A sepoy of the 34th regiment of native infantry, having intoxicated himself with *bang*, discharged his musket at Lieutenant Baugh, and shot that officer's horse; the lieutenant fired a pistol at his assailant, but missed him, and was wounded in return by the madman, as was also the sergeant-major of the corps, who went to the lieutenant's assistance. The mutineer, whose name was Mungal Pandey,¹ was seized, tried, and sentenced to be hanged; and on the scaffold he expressed his regret for the crime, and tried, but in vain, to persuade his fellow-soldiers to return to their duty. As for the 19th regiment, it was drawn up on parade in the square of Barrackpoor, surrounded by the two British and several native regiments—and for a moment it was doubted whether the latter might not side with the 19th, and offer battle to the 52d and 84th. But no such outbreak occurred: the rebels surrendered their arms, and were marched off under an escort of cavalry to Chinsurah, bemoaning their infatuation, and petitioning when too late to be readmitted to the service.

It was not, however, by such checks that the spirit of revolt was to be suppressed, or even retarded; it was diffused like a pestilence far and near by mysterious agencies which the authorities could neither detect nor surmise. One of these was the transmission of a kind of little unleavened cakes, called *chupatties*, a symbol which the Europeans did not understand, but which seems to have been as significant to the natives as the fiery cross to the Highlanders of Scotland, and used for a similar purpose. A *chowkodar*, or village policeman of Cawnpore, gave two of these cakes, the common food of the poor, to another *chowkodar* in Futteghur, telling him to make ten more, and give them to five of his brethren of the nearest station, with a similar

charge to each; and thus at every hour these runners were multiplying among a class of men who were spread over India, and whose mischievous errand was least liable to be suspected.



A CHOWKODAR OR VILLAGE POLICEMAN.²

The circulation of *chupatties* commenced in Oude and elsewhere in the beginning of 1857, and European conjecture was utterly at a loss to penetrate this Indian mystery, which subsequent events made only too intelligible. Reports also were industriously spread in the bazaars that the missionaries had petitioned the Queen of Great Britain to enforce the use of the greased cartridges, in order to compel the Hindoos to become Christians. They even pretended to give the very words of this petition, which, they alleged, were the following:—"Tippoo made thousands of Hindoos become of his religion, while your majesty has not made one Christian. Under your orders are sepoys of all castes. We therefore pray you to adopt this plan—namely, to cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which your sepoys put into their mouths, and after six months to have it made known to the sepoys how they have thereby lost their caste, and by this means a certain road will be opened for making many Christians." They added, that the queen was highly satisfied with this petition, and had given her assent to it. Notwithstanding the absurdity of this report, it was so well suited to the credulity and ignorance of the people, and gained such belief, that the governor-general, Lord Canning, in council, was obliged on the 16th of May to issue a proclamation on the subject, disclaiming any attempt to interfere with the castes or religion of the people, and warning

¹ Hence the name of *Pandies*, which was afterwards given to the rebel sepoys by the British soldiers in India.

² From *Asiatic Costumes*, a series of coloured engravings from drawings taken from life.

them against the arts of those who attempted to withdraw them from their allegiance.

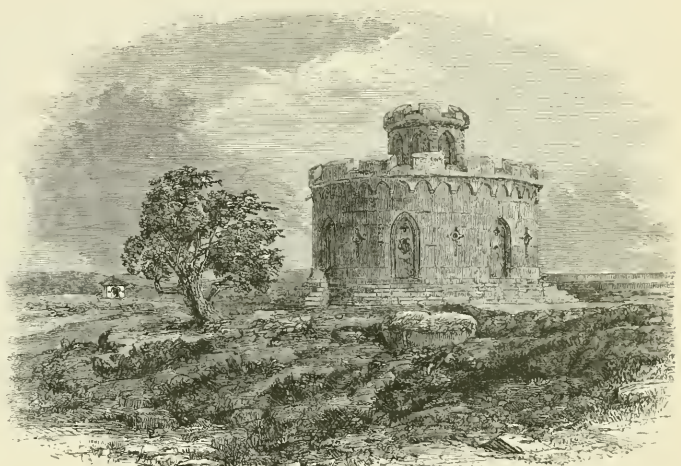
But this proclamation was too late, and even had it been earlier it would have been equally useless. The rebellion had already broken out in full violence, and in those districts where it could be least resisted. Of the European regiments in the presidency of Bengal, the greater part were dispersed over the whole extent of our Indian empire, and isolated among a hostile people. One important military station was Meerut, thirty-five miles to the north-east of the city of Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna, where there were cantonments on an extensive plain near the town, consisting of barracks and lines for European and native infantry, cavalry, and artillery. At this place were two regiments of native infantry and one of light cavalry, comprising in all 2700 men, and an European force of one regiment of infantry, one of dragoons, and a troop and company of artillery, numbering 1717 men, the whole being under the command of Major-general Hewitt. On the 6th of May, when cartridges, which, to avoid offence, had been made for the purpose, were offered to the native cavalry, eighty-five troopers refused to receive them. They were tried by a court-martial for their disobedience; eighty were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for ten years, and five for six years; and on the 9th, after their sentences were read to them on parade, they were put in irons and conducted to jail. But their companions sympathized in their rebellion; their jail-guards were sepoys, and the European troops were posted at the distance of three miles from the native camp. Everything seemed to tempt a rescue, accompanied with violence and lawlessness. On the following morning, which was Sunday, the native regiments rose in mutiny, fired upon their officers, and after making a rush upon the prison, from which they rescued not only their fellows, but upwards of 1000 convicts who were confined there, they set the building on fire. The wildest license now prevailed in Meerut, where the excesses of the rebellious sepoys were aided by the liberated prisoners; the Europeans were attacked wherever they could be found, and several British officers, with their wives and children, were massacred with circumstances of aggravated atrocity. While bungalows were blazing in every direction, and the streets filled with the hurrying rush of the murderers, and shrieks of the dying, the two British regiments in their remote encampment were preparing for church parade; but as soon as the alarm reached them, they marched against the native lines, assailed them with volleys of grape and musketry, drove the mutineers from the encampment, and pursued them in their

retreat, cutting down a considerable number on the way. But as the chase was conducted by only a party of carabineers and riflemen, and as the night was very dark, the main body of the mutineers, consisting of the 3d light cavalry and 20th infantry, were enabled to make good their retreat to Delhi.

Such was the day of horror which prevailed over Meerut and its neighbourhood on this memorable 10th of May; the scene was now to be shifted to Delhi, where three regiments of native infantry and a battery of native artillery were stationed, but not a single company of British soldiers. At an early hour on the morning of the 11th a handful of horsemen, not above thirty or forty in number, came galloping in headlong speed to the city, though their approach excited no alarm. But they were an advanced party of the light cavalry, who had fled from Meerut; and they were the harbingers of the atrocities that were to follow, and the chief actors in their commission. They rushed in at the Calcutta Gate unchallenged, and had no sooner entered the city than, raising the cry of "*Deen, deen,*" their shout equally for a battle-charge or a massacre, they attacked and cut down every European they met in their way. The military cantonment was about two miles distant, and from this place, in consequence of a notice sent to the brigadier, the 54th native regiment with two guns were sent to quell the mutiny. They steadily marched to the city and promptly entered by the Cashmere Gate; but here the mask was dropped; for no sooner did the insurgent body of light cavalry approach than the sepoys withdrew from their officers, leaving the latter exposed to the fierce horsemen, who came upon them at full gallop, and shot them down with their pistols. After this the murderers and sepoys fraternized, and as the main body from the retreat of Meerut continued to pour in, Delhi was now in possession of the rebels—nothing remained to the British but the powder magazine, with two officers and three or four subalterns in charge of it. But such as it was, it was the only refuge left to the British dominion in Delhi; and while the work of murder was going on within the city, where the shameful atrocities of Meerut were exceeded, not only upon strong men, but helpless women and unoffending children, the rebels assailed the magazine with their whole united force. The place was gallantly held by the handful within, and the first attacks repelled by volleys of grape; but thousands still pressed forward, and scaling ladders were applied, so that the walls were on the point of being won. But calculating upon this chance, Lieutenant Willoughby, who was in charge of the magazine, had laid a train to that

department which contained the gunpowder; it was fired at his signal; and instantly the building, with hundreds of sepoy, were sent flying into the air. During the smoke and confusion the few defenders managed to escape, with the exception of the gallant Willoughby, who, scorched, blackened, and all but killed by the explosion, succeeded in reaching Meerut, but only to die soon after. While this hasty siege had been going on, such of the British residents, both gentlemen and ladies, as had escaped the first onset of the murderers, endeavoured to find a rallying point, for either shelter or an honourable death, and the greater part repaired to the Flagstaff Tower, in front of the cantonments, where a company of the 38th native infantry and two guns were stationed. The tower itself was strongly built, and might have resisted an attack, while several officers of the 38th had still hope that their soldiers might be recalled to a sense of duty. But at a quarter before four o'clock in the afternoon, while they were remonstrating with them, a glare was suddenly seen in the distance; it was the explosion of the magazine in the city; and as if it had been a signal gun to action, the sepoy rushed to their arms, and the Flagstaff Tower, no longer a safe place of shelter, had to be abandoned by its inmates, who retreated, some to Kernoul, and others to Meerut. Another attempt was made to hold a small fortified bastion called the Main-guard, within the Cashmere Gate, that was soon filled not only with men, but with women and children, and reinforcements were sent for from the cantonments; but at five o'clock these treacherous guards, on whom they had depended, suddenly opened a fire upon them, and commenced a massacre from which only a few escaped. Even the palace, to which many of the Europeans fled, was no protection. There sat the old titular sovereign, weighed down but not softened by the load of more than fourscore years; there, too, were his sons, to give active spirit to his relentless apathy, and encourage the murders that were perpetrated in his name; and all who fled to its courts in the vain hope of safety, or were allured thither by promises of protection, were there murdered, not only, as was alleged, by the express commands of the princes, but even in their very presence. Within a day or two not a British resident was left alive in Delhi.

While the conflagration was thus kindled in which our whole Indian empire was so soon to be enveloped, the electric wires which extended across Hindoostan from Calcutta to Lahore, with branch lines to the principal military and civil stations, were in active operation. On the 11th of May, a telegram announced to the authorities at Lahore the revolt of the previous day at Meerut, and these news were followed on the 12th by an account of the massacres and occupation of Delhi. When the tidings arrived Sir



THE FLAGSTAFF TOWER, DELHI.—From a photograph.

John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjab, was absent at Rawal Pindee; but the judicial commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, at this crisis fortunately assumed the direction of affairs, and promptly repaired to Meeran Meer, the military cantonment of which was six miles distant. It was well that he did so, for at this station, where there were three native regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, with the 81st British regiment and some artillery, the sepoy had matured a plot to seize the fort at Lahore, break open the jail, and massacre all the Europeans. Their design was discovered, and measures were concerted between Mr. Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett, the commander at Meeran Meer, to defeat it. On that evening a ball was to be given by the residents to the officers of the 81st, and to lull suspicion the ball was allowed to go on. But on the next morning the troops were drawn up on parade, ostensibly to hear a general order read; the five companies of the 81st, with their artillery, were stationed in the rear of the native regiments; and the latter, after a few sentences addressed to them, were commanded to pile arms. The sepoy for a moment hesitated: but they found that twelve guns were pointed at them loaded to the muzzle with grape-shot; that at a

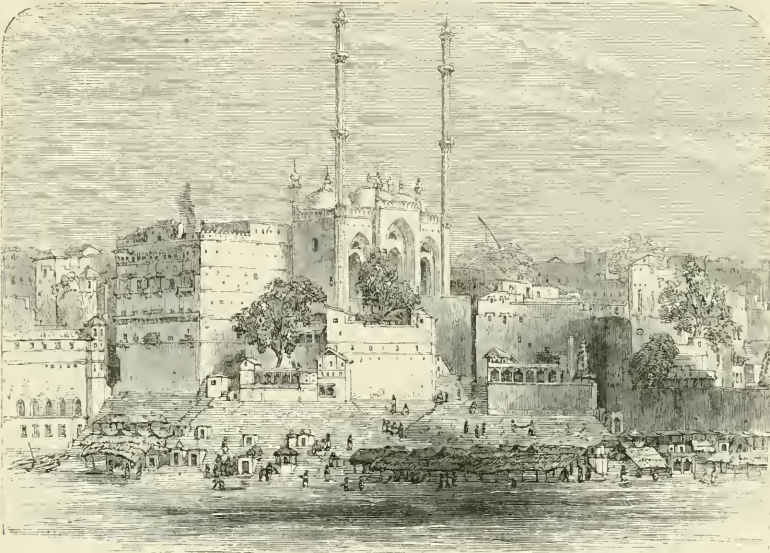
single word of command, the lighted matches would be applied; and slowly and moodily they yielded to the necessity, and piled their arms, which were instantly removed in carts by the European soldiers.

The rapid action of the telegraphic wires was equally effectual in other quarters. At Ferozepore, south of the Sutlej, was a very large magazine of military stores; but the 45th native regiment of infantry, which was stationed at this place, had put themselves in communication with the rebels of Meean Meer, and agreed to act with them in the revolt. But on the same day (the 13th), when Brigadier Jones was advertised of the proceedings at Delhi, he quietly moved the native troops out of their entrenchments, and filled their place with a detachment of the 61st British infantry, and twelve pieces of cannon. Thus finding themselves suspected, the sepoys endeavoured to effect their purpose by open violence, and to win back the entrenchments by scaling-ladders, with which they had been previously furnished; but their attempt was repelled and the magazine saved. On the same eventful day, also, when the report of the disarming of the rebels at Lahore was transmitted to Peshawer, the principal officers of that quarter decided upon the formation of a moveable column, whose head-quarters were to be at Jhelum, and which was to "move on every point of the Punjab where open mutiny required to be put down by force." By these decisive proceedings the most important limb of the conspiracy was lopped off, and the best of its strength paralyzed. It was from the Punjab that the greatest danger was apprehended, both from the military spirit of the Sikhs, and the recentness of their subjugation, which still rankled in their memories. Other less important attempts at mutiny, which were on the eve of breaking out in other parts of the country, were either suppressed or abandoned. The next movement on the part of the British government was to be the recovery of Delhi, for which the securing of the Punjab was a necessary step; and accordingly, Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Montgomery, and the other officers in that quarter, bestirred themselves in raising fresh troops, Mooltanese, Sikhs, and men of the hill tribes, who had not been infected by the mutiny, and were ready to serve against any power on the inducements of good pay and plunder. At the same time, Lord Canning, the Governor-general of India, recalled the troops stationed in Persia, and sent for reinforcements from Bombay and Madras, from Burmah and Ceylon, from the Eastern Settlements and the Mauritius, and above all, from England, to put down a rebellion in which so many kingdoms were united, and to maintain which so many armies were in the field.

The commander-in-chief in India during these proceedings of the terrible outburst, was General the Honourable George Anson. He was at Simla when they commenced, having retired thither to avoid the heat of the plains; but as soon as the alarm reached him he proceeded to Umballa, where he collected as many troops as could be mustered, and proceeded towards Delhi. But he died at Kurnool, from an attack of cholera, on the 27th of May. He was succeeded in the command by Major-general Reed, who was worn out with age and sickness, so that this new commander-in-chief was obliged to devolve his charge upon Major-general Sir Henry Bernard, at Alleepore, on the 8th of June, and when he was within a single march of Delhi. Such were the effects of succession by the rule of seniority at a season when the prime of strength, activity, and promptitude was loudly and suddenly called for. The main body under Reed, which was joined to Bernard's own forces, was still further increased by Brigadier-general Wilson, who had marched up from Meerut to join them, defeating on his way in two attacks a strong body of the Delhi insurgents, who had attempted to intercept him, and capturing twenty-six of their guns; and on the 8th, a little after midnight, General Bernard advanced from Alleepore, and found the enemy awaiting him in a strongly fortified position at Badulee Ke Serai. His light artillery could make no impression against the heavy cannon of the rebels; but they were driven from their entrenchments by a gallant bayonet charge of the 75th regiment, and they fled, leaving their guns behind them. Having thus far cleared the way, the British army advanced to the attack upon Delhi; and for this purpose General Bernard divided his force into two columns, one of which, under the command of General Wilson, advanced upon the city along the main trunk road, while the other, headed by himself, proceeded through the cantonments which the rebels had burned and destroyed, and upon a ridge beyond which he found them posted in a strong position, well defended with artillery. In this, as on other occasions throughout the war, they were turning the lessons they had learned against their instructors; but it was merely as humble imitators, and as schoolboys in rebellion against their teachers: the genius of the master-spirit to strike out new paths, or even to follow up the old to their highest result, was equally wanting among them, and hence the disadvantage under which they constantly laboured, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers and vast resources. Their position was taken in flank and rear, and carried by a rapid flank movement to the left on the part of General Bernard, and the rebels, abandoning their guns, were fain to take to flight, while

General Wilson's column pressing forward, over high walls and through gardens, drove the fugitives back into the city. The British troops having then re-united, established themselves before Delhi in a camp about two miles to the

north of the city, with the old cantonments in their front, the river Jumna on their left, and a canal in their rear. Here upon ground high and rocky, and admirably suited for the siege, they were obliged to stand on the defensive for months,



BENARES, from the River.—From an original drawing by T. Longcroft, Esq.

owing to the smallness of their numbers, and the immense force of the rebel sepoys within the city. The entire amount of the European army who thus established themselves upon blockade before Delhi did not exceed 3000 bayonets, with a detachment of Ghoorikas, who during these encounters aided the British, and served them with admirable courage and fidelity.

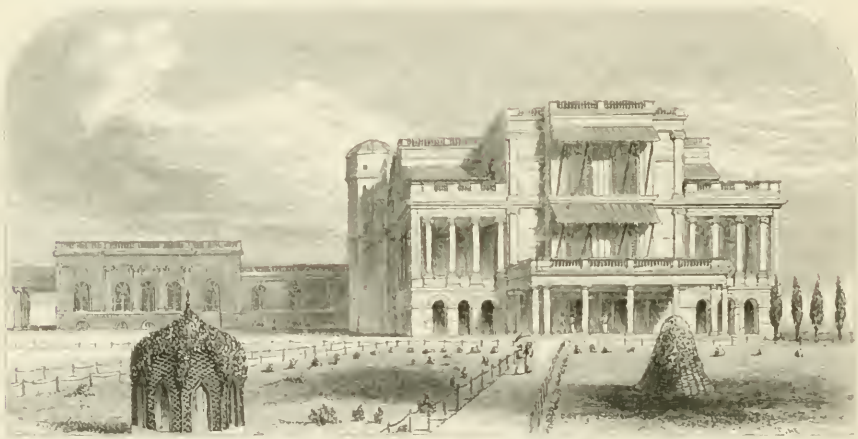
During the course of these events that led to the siege of Delhi, the instances of revolt in the several portions of our Indian empire continued to multiply in still closer succession; but to these, important though they were, we can only devote a brief notice. At Futteghur it was thought advisable, when the rebellion had approached the neighbourhood, to send off the ladies and the children for safety to Cawnpore; and they were embarked in boats upon the Ganges, when, on hearing false reports of the safety that was still to be enjoyed at Futteghur, a considerable part of them were tempted to return. Here, however, the mutiny broke out on the 18th of June; the fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge was attacked, and, after a desperate but fruitless resistance, its inmates, to the number of 100, including women and children, embarked on the Ganges on the 4th of July, soon after midnight, but were fired upon from the banks by the sepoys; and in consequence of the stranding of one of

the two boats, nearly all on board were killed or drowned, while those who escaped landed at Blitoor, only to be murdered by Nana Sahib, who had his residence there. At Allahabad, where the mutiny broke out in the beginning of June, the circumstances that accompanied it were still more atrocious; for there the European officers, to the number of fourteen, were butchered on the parade ground by their own sepoy soldiers, the military station was destroyed by fire, and for several days the city was wholly given up to plunder and havoc, in which 100 Europeans were killed. This state of outrage continued until troops were sent up from Benares, by whom the place was recovered, and a severe chastisement inflicted on the rebels. A similar outbreak took place at Jhansi in Bundelcund on the 4th of June, where such of the British residents as could not make their escape from the town retired into the fort, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Although they were only fifty-five, including women and children, they maintained the defence four days under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, and only surrendered on the promise that all their lives should be spared. But no sooner had the rebels got possession of the fort than they violated their promises, and put all their prisoners to the sword. On the 3d of June the revolt broke out at Azim-

ghur, nearly opposite to Benares, but accompanied with such circumstances of forbearance as to make this act, as compared with the other outbreaks, almost seem a virtue; for although the mutineers plundered an escort conveying treasure to Benares, they formed a square with the officers within to protect their lives, and brought carriages for the safe conveyance of the women and children, whom they actually escorted ten miles on the road to Guzeepore! At Benares, where a rebellious *emete* commenced as soon as the news of the outbreak at Azimghur arrived, a small company of 200 British soldiers maintained themselves against nearly eight times that number of Sikhs and sepoys who suddenly rose upon them, and held their position in the mint until British reinforcements were sent to their aid, and Benares, the Athens of Brahminical learning, recovered from the revolters. It is gratifying to add, that while this conflict at Benares was at the hottest, seventy Sikh soldiers who had been placed in guard of the government treasury, amounting to six lacs of rupees, defended their trust to the last, and restored it entire to our troops when the insurrection was quelled. This rebellion, which had nerved the most timid to such deeds of daring and endurance on the part of the Europeans as will form a fruitful theme

for future Indian story, had also its natural effect in hardening the feelings to the stern modes of suppression and retribution which had to be adopted, and caused deeds to be regarded with toleration which, at other seasons, could not even have been heard of without a shudder. Writing on the 29th of June, a British resident mentions the permanent establishment of the gibbet at Benares, and adds—"Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the rigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."

When the rebellion commenced it was of the utmost importance to insure the safety of Lucknow, the capital of the lately annexed and still discontented kingdom of Oude, containing about 700,000 inhabitants. Accordingly, after the 3d of May, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was acting as chief commissioner there in the absence of Sir James Outram, made active preparations for the defence of the residency; and among other measures, he repaired the Muchee Blawun, an outlying citadel opposite the stone bridge across the Goomtee river, and considered as the key



THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW.—From a view in the Illustrated London News.

to Lucknow. The native force at Lucknow consisted of more than 4000 men, having about sixty European officers: the British troops did not number in all 1000. Here the mutiny, after seven or eight weeks of indignant threats and murmurings, broke out on the evening of the 30th of May, at the military cantonments which were at some distance on the north side of the river Goomtee, and the commencement was with the usual deeds of violence: the sepoys burned down some of the buildings, and fired into the mess-

room of the officers, in consequence of which two were shot dead; but on bringing up a part of the 32d regiment and the artillery, the rebels, after some loss, forsook the cantonments, and retreated towards Delhi. It was merely the first murmur of the storm that was to gather round Lucknow; and aware of this, Sir Henry Lawrence redoubled his preparations for the strengthening of the defences, and multiplying the means of resistance. The most active of the rebellious emissaries were hanged on a gallows erected in

front of the Muchee Bhawun; two members of the royal family of Delhi, and a brother of the ex-king, of Oude, were secured and imprisoned in that fortress; and thousands of coolies were employed with spade and pickaxe in repairing batteries, stockades, and trenches. Well might there be stir and bustle, considering the importance of the place, and the number of civilians and the helpless who would have to be protected, as well as Lucknow itself, from an infuriated and merciless enemy. Everything available for war was brought within the residency, and among these were 200 guns without carriages, which were discovered in a garden, and which now bristled upon the walls and ramparts of the British defences. While thus employed, it was learned that a body of the rebels were advancing, and Sir Henry Lawrence, with 300 troops and a few guns, marched out on the 30th of June to oppose them, at the village of Chinhut, about eight miles from Lucknow. But the mutineers were so numerous that Sir Henry was defeated with serious loss, and in consequence of this disaster, it was found necessary to withdraw the British troops from the military cantonments to the residency. On the 1st of July orders were given to evacuate the place, and blow up the Muchee Bhawun. This was done accordingly, by which 240 barrels of gunpowder and 6,000,000 rounds of cartridges were lost, whether for attack or defence. The siege of the residency now commenced in earnest, and the defence made by the British is one of the most heroic episodes in the history of this disastrous rebellion. Hemmed in and all but overpowered, they continued their resistance with unabated constancy, notwithstanding their hopeless condition, and the disasters that multiplied upon them from day to day. On the 2d of July their brave commander, Sir Henry Lawrence, was mortally wounded by the explosion of a shell, and died on the 4th, after appointing Major Banks his successor, and Banks was killed by a musket-shot on the 21st. In this critical situation the siege of Lucknow was continued, while the heroic defenders procrastinated their resistance in the hope of relief, which was finally afforded, but not till after many delays and difficulties, which will fall to be mentioned in the course of our narrative.

In so complex an event as the Indian rebellion, it is difficult, especially within a narrow compass, to follow out the details of the different outbreaks, or even to comprise their names; and hitherto we have been obliged to present only the chief of them, as specimens of the whole. By the end of June the native troops had mutinied at twenty-two stations; and at two of these, we are told by the statements of this period, the rebellion had been signalized by the

massacre of women and children. Of these stations, one of the most important in the history of this rebellion was Cawnpore. This town, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, where the river is about a mile in breadth, is 115 miles north-west of Allahabad, and fifty miles distant from Lucknow, on the opposite side, and is there connected with the Lucknow road by a bridge of boats. The town itself, though large, is mean-looking and dirty, but being one of our principal military stations, its cantonments extended along the right bank of the Ganges nearly seven miles, forming in themselves a town of great size and very imposing appearance. About ten miles higher up the river is Bhitoor, the residence of Nana Sahib, a miscreant whose name has constituted the foulest blot of this otherwise foul rebellion, and whose memory will therefore be permanently gibbeted in every future record of India. This man, a compound of cruelty, craft, and cowardice, was originally named Doondoo Punt, and was the son of a Brahmin from the Deccan; but having been adopted in the eastern fashion as a son, by Bajee Rao, the displaced Peishwa of Poonah, Nana Sahib, on the death of the latter in 1852, claimed as his lawful inheritance the continuation of the pension of eight lacs of rupees which had been allowed by the British government to the peishwa in consequence of his surrender. But this Hindoo form of succession, by which childless princes could have continued successors to their rights at pleasure, had been repudiated by the Company, and the native claims upon it, which had died out with the extinction of these sovereign pensionaries who had no son of their own blood, were disallowed. Thus Nana Sahib, although already possessed of more than £4,000,000 by the death of Bajee Rao, was disappointed in his avaricious hopes, and he nursed the spirit of revenge in his fortified palace at Bhitoor, where he was allowed to retain a body-guard of 200 soldiers. These circumstances, with his advantages of an English education, may account for the readiness with which he threw himself into the rebellion, the importance which he acquired in it as a leader, and the fiendish malignity with which he pursued it to the close.

The condition of Cawnpore at the commencement of the general outbreak was such as to cause serious alarm. The native troops in the cantonments consisted of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, mustering in all 3860 men, having 115 European officers, while the other British troops scarcely exceeded 170. Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler was in command of the station; and as the cantonments were on a plain, and without any defences, he proceeded to throw up a breastwork of earth round the hospital and

several smaller buildings, which served as a shelter for the Europeans when the storm arrived. And its coming was not long delayed. The native regiments rebelled, and went off in a body to Nana Sahib, who now found himself in a condition to take the field. He therefore immediately marched upon Cawnpore, plundered

the treasury, and took possession of the magazine, that unfortunately had not been destroyed; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, he commenced on the 7th of June the siege of the slight earthen fortress that had been hastily thrown up. It was a defence better suited to resist a temporary riot than to withstand an army



CAWNPORE.—From a drawing by W. Carpenter, jun.; engraved in the Illustrated London News.

or hold out against a siege, and the astonishment was that it could have resisted for a single day, more especially when of the 900 persons contained within it 590 were women, children, and non-combatants. But this brave garrison continued their resistance till the 24th, although the cannonade of the besiegers was heavy and their attacks frequent, and although the heat, fatigue, and privations endured in the defence were such as might have quelled the bravest. At last, when courage had done its utmost, and endurance been wasted out, the garrison was induced to surrender, on the promise that they should be allowed to retire in safety to Allahabad. They were escorted by the rebels to the river side, but there the greater part of the boats prepared ostensibly for their embarkation were drawn up too high in the mud to be launched; and during the delay occasioned by this obstacle, three guns were fired from the Nana's camp, as the signal for the massacre to begin. Volleys of musketry were immediately opened upon the boats already launched, when they had reached the middle of the river, and out of the whole flotilla of about forty boats which were embarked on the 27th of June, only one escaped so far as to get ten miles down the river, when it was overtaken, and all within it were killed or taken prisoners except four men, who made their escape by swimming. Of those who survived the massacre at the embarkation, and who were carried back to Cawnpore,

the men were murdered, while the women and children were reserved for a more lingering death. All this was accomplished by the orders and under the direction of Nana Sahib; and when the foul work was accomplished, he issued proclamations in which he gloried in the deed, and justified his proceedings, by the charges he attempted to fasten upon the British government and its functionaries.

In the meantime Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, was the place of rendezvous for the British troops that could be sent from Calcutta, Benares, and other quarters, and Colonel Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta from the Persian war, was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent to the recovery of Cawnpore and the relief of the garrison in Lucknow. This good and gallant veteran, who had entered the army in 1815, and who, notwithstanding his worth, had served twenty-three years before he attained the rank of captain, was now to exhibit, in one short and final campaign, such talents as might have won, and which now helped to recover, our Indian empire to its former rule. He arrived at Allahabad on the 30th of June, and set out from this place by a forced march under a burning sun, to attack the enemy. He was joined on the way by a body of troops under Major Renand, which raised his force to 1400 British and nearly 600 native soldiers, with eight guns. On the morn-

ing of the 11th of July he found the rebels, to the number of 3500, strongly entrenched at Futtehpoor, having twelve pieces of cannon, with which they opened fire upon the British as they advanced. But their ardour was quickly damped by discharges of Enfield rifles, which killed them from a distance, and with a certainty, on which they had not calculated; they were speedily put to the rout, and they fled back to Cawnpore, leaving behind them their ammunition and baggage, and all their guns. This victory was won without the loss of a single European killed, but twelve were struck down during the fight by *coup-de-soleil*, for they had made a forced march of nearly twenty miles before this four hours' engagement commenced. The march upon Cawnpore was resumed, but on the 15th the victors were twice encountered by the rebels, first at the village of Aong, and afterwards at the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, eight miles from Cawnpore. In both engagements the revolted sepoys were completely routed, and Havelock pressed forward with the relief of Cawnpore all but within his grasp, when one of those atrocities was committed which are of unusual occurrence even in the wars of rebels and savages. When Nana Sahib learned that the British had won the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and were advancing upon him by a rapid march, he resolved to evacuate Cawnpore; but to revenge himself upon the victors, by defeating the purpose of their coming, he gave orders that all the women and children whom he had imprisoned should be murdered. The infernal command was so faithfully executed by the ruffians who followed him, that not one woman or child was spared—all were mercilessly murdered, and their bodies thrown into a deep well by command of the Nana. After this atrocious deed, which was consummated on the 17th, he blew up the magazine at Cawnpore, and fled to his fortress at Bhitoor. In the meantime, the advance of General Havelock was retarded by a rebel army of 5000 men posted behind some villages in front of Cawnpore; but by a few skilful manœuvres, and the gallant daring of the 78th Highlanders, the enemy, although so greatly superior in numbers, and notwithstanding their desperate attempts to rally, were driven at every point from their positions and guns, and sent fleeing in wild confusion. The British entered Cawnpore in triumph—but where were the fruits of their victories and toils? They found nothing but the slaughter-house, on the walls of which the blood of the murdered was still warm—the well in which their limbs were still quivering with the recent death-agony. It was a sight over which the brave conquerors wept like women, until their tears were dried up by the burning desire of vengeance. Wherever a rebel was caught,

unless he could prove his innocence of the deed, he was instantly hanged. As for the chief rebels, they were compelled, previously, to cleanse a certain portion of the pool of blood, that was still two inches deep, where the murders had taken place—for to touch blood was, with high-caste natives, to incur damnation, however plentifully they might cause it to be shed—and when they shrank back in abhorrence, the lash of the provost-marshal drove them forward to the task. "No one," writes Havelock indignantly, "who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy' as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies—alas! containing upwards of 200 women and children—I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave." And fearful would have been the doom of the chief offender if he had but ventured to wait the arrival of the British at Bhitoor. But Nana Sahib, the murderer of women and children, had performed a consistent part by running away from his strongly fortified palace, and in company of his numerous cut-throats, although they mustered 5000 men, with whom he might have made a decisive stand. On the 19th Bhitoor was occupied by the British; the evacuated fortress was destroyed, and thirteen guns found in it were carried away.

The relief of Lucknow was the next task to be attempted, and leaving General Neill in command at Cawnpore, Havelock crossed the Ganges into Oude, and resumed an exhausting march at the height of the rainy season, through an overflowed country, and under the heat of a withering sun. On the 29th of July he was confronted by a rebel army near the town of Unao. Their position was truly formidable, for their right was protected by a swamp that could neither be forced nor turned, their advance was drawn up in a garden inclosure, which had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion, while the rest of their forces were posted in or behind a village, the houses of which were loop-holed. The flooded state of the country on the British right, and the swamp on their left, made an attack upon the enemy's front unavoidable. It was gallantly made, although at every disadvantage, and with complete success: the village was set on fire, and its defenders driven out; and by a series of skilful movements on a narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao, the enemy, who were rallied, and drawn up in line upon the plain, were driven from their batteries, deprived of their guns, and put utterly to the rout. After a brief rest of only three hours, that was more than needful by the fatigue of such a victory, the British advanced against Busherat Gunge, a walled town on the road to Lucknow, with wet ditches, and provided with

every means of a strong resistance. But in spite of these obstacles, and a heavy cannonade, the earthworks were scaled, the entrenchments broken through, and the town captured. Here, however, General Havelock was obliged to pause in his hitherto victorious progress, for he was encumbered with his sick and wounded, and cholera had broken out in his little army. He therefore fell back upon Mungalwar, about six miles from the Ganges, to recruit his troops and wait for reinforcements, for he declared that to advance upon Lucknow in their present condition was to march to certain destruction. On the 5th of August, hearing that the enemy had again rallied at Busherat Gunge, he advanced against them and was again victorious, turning them both in front and flank, and driving them off the field with great slaughter. He then made preparations to return to Cawnpore for reinforcements, and had already sent his baggage across the Ganges, when he heard that the enemy had rallied for a third time at Busherat Gunge, to abide yet another trial upon that fated spot. With 4000 men and six guns, they now varied their mode of defence, but in vain; for Havelock, by a correspondent change in his attack, foiled all their arrangements, captured their redoubts, guns, and batteries, and drove them before him into a retreat that was soon changed into flight. Worn and worn out with so many successes, as well as wounds, sickness, and incessant action under a burning sun, the army now recrossed the river and returned to Cawnpore, but not to rest, for they were almost immediately dragged again into the field by a strong body of the enemy who had mustered at Bhitoor, and were threatening to descend upon Cawnpore. Having united his force to that of General Neill, Havelock, on the 16th of August, advanced upon the rebels, who consisted of 4000 of the mutineers, joined with a portion of Nana Sahib's own troops, and who occupied a position which General Havelock described as one of the strongest he had ever seen. But after an hour of hard fighting, the rebels were driven from their almost impregnable defences with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat to Seorajpore, and if Havelock had possessed a few cavalry, not one of the enemy would have reached that place. Seldom, if ever, had so small an army made such marches and obtained so many victories in so short a space of time. Between the 12th of July and the 17th of August it had fought nine battles, and been successful in them all. Reduced by sickness and the sword to 700 men, they now took up their quarters at Cawnpore, to wait the arrival of reinforcements under General Sir James Outram, without which it was impossible for them to march to the relief of Lucknow.

But leaving Lucknow for the present, we must now turn our attention to the important siege of Delhi, before which the small force under General Bernard had established itself on the 8th of June. The first purpose of the besiegers was merely to maintain their ground and hold the rebels of the city in check, until the arrival of reinforcements should enable them to become the assailants, and they successfully resisted the numerous attacks that continued to be made upon them from the city. Reinforcements, indeed, they continued to receive, but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the troops of rebels that poured into Delhi, now the great centre and stronghold of the revolt. On the 5th of July General Bernard died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Reed, who on the 16th was obliged from ill health to resign office to Brigadier Wilson. By the middle of the month the besieging army had been raised to 9000 men, of whom half were Europeans, and in every encounter they succeeded in repelling the enemy with heavy loss. One of these encounters was with a powerful body of the rebels, who had moved out of Delhi on the 25th of August, towards Nujifghur, about twenty miles off, with the intention of crossing the canal at that place, and attacking the British camp in the rear. Aware of this design, General Nicholson, at the head of 3000 men, made a day's rapid march, came up with them near Nujifghur, and attacked them with such spirit that he drove them across the canal with a single charge, capturing all their artillery, and blowing up the bridge, after which he returned in triumph to the camp with little loss. This important success, with the arrival of fresh reinforcements of native soldiers, and a siege train from Meerut, on the 4th of September, encouraged the British to turn the blockade into an active siege, which was commenced on the 11th, as soon as the batteries were completed. And it was no easy undertaking; for this ancient city of the Moguls and chief capital of India was strong in its fortifications, that extended about seven miles in circumference, and included an area of about three square miles, while it was defended by a numerous army that expected little merey, and fought with the courage of despair.

After a heavy bombardment of two days from fifty-four siege guns, by which some of the best defences of Delhi were shattered and their cannon silenced, the assault was ordered on the morning of the 14th. While no quarter was to be given to the mutineers, no harm was to be inflicted upon women and children, and the soldiers were warned of the necessity of keeping closely together, instead of straggling from their columns. In the advance of the four columns of attack it was neces-

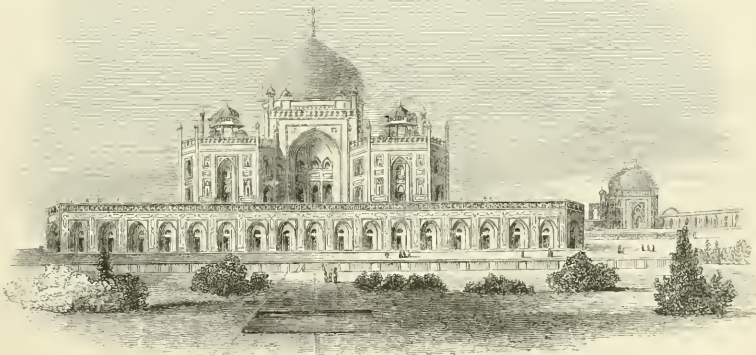
sary to blow open the Cashmere Gate, to give an entrance to the city, and this hazardous deed was performed, at the almost certain risk of death, by a gallant handful who devoted themselves to the work. Through the gap, the first, second, and third columns rushed and formed within the ruined gate, but as yet the outer works only were won; a fierce resistance was maintained from the interior defences, and from the city, which retarded the advance of the besiegers for several days, and it was not till the 20th that the whole external defences of Delhi were in our possession, and the gate of the strongly fortified palace blown in. And now all resistance was at an end. The old king fled from his palace, the inhabitants from the city, and the rebel soldiers from their bastions and ramparts—all that could escape were fleeing in confused crowds, some across the bridge of boats into the Doab country, some down the right bank of the Jumna, and some to the bottom of the Ganges and the Jumna, in their blind hurry to escape the vengeance of the conquerors. Thus Delhi was won, but not without a loss to the besiegers of 1178 in killed and wounded on the first day of assault, and 177 in the intervening days to the 20th.

But before the hopes of the mutineers could be effectually crushed, it was necessary to obtain possession of the phantom of rebel sovereignty, the King of Delhi, and inflict justice upon his murderous family, and attempts were next made to discover the hiding-places in which they lay



THE PALACE OF THE KING, DELHI.
From the Hon. C. S. Hardinge's Recollections of India.

concealed. Lieutenant Hodson, who was commissioned for the purpose, soon found the old man, who could not flee far, and brought him back to Delhi. Learning that two of the king's sons had concealed themselves in the tomb of the Mogul sovereign Humaioun, a huge pile of buildings at some distance from Delhi, Lie-



THE TOMB OF HUMAIOUN, NEAR DELHI.—From an oriental drawing in the East India House.

tenant Hodson on the following morning repaired to the place of refuge, with a company of 100 soldiers. He sent two natives into this palace of the dead, to persuade the princes to come forth; and as soon as they appeared they

were thrust into a carriage, and whirled off under a small guard towards Delhi. Lieutenant Hodson at the head of a few soldiers then entered the building, and there found above 5000 fugitives variously armed, whom he commanded

to throw down their weapons and surrender—with which order, being awed by his bold bearing, they instantly complied. He then returned to the city, but not far from the walls he found the carriage of the two princes, surrounded by a mob who were evidently attempting their rescue. Resolving that such offenders should not escape, Lieutenant Hodson dashed through the crowd, and exclaimed, “These are the men who have not only rebelled against the government, but ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful exposure of innocent women and children; and thus, therefore, the government punishes such traitors taken in open resistance.” With these words he shot them both on the spot. The effect upon the mob was instantaneous,—electric; they submitted to the doom, while some Mahometans exclaimed aloud, “Well and rightly done! Their crime has met with its just penalty. These were they who gave the signal for the death of helpless women and children, and now a righteous judgment has fallen on them. Allah akbar!” The bodies were carried into Delhi, and thrown out in front of the Kotwallee, on the very spot where the blood of their victims had been shed; and thus, to the dullest of Asiatic perceptions, a display was given of a just and sure retribution, and of the full power of Britain to inflict it on all offenders. Soon afterwards, two others of the king’s sons, who had been equally guilty, were tried before a military commission, condemned to death, and executed. By these terrible acts of justice all hope of the restoration of the Mogul dynasty, or even the pretext of it, which the mutineers had held out,

was utterly destroyed. The last act of the recovery of Delhi was to appoint a flying column for the pursuit of the fugitives on the right bank of the Jumna, and into the Doab, and this was done on the 23d of September, the regiments that composed this force being known during the rest of the war under the name of Greathed’s column, from that of Colonel Greathed, its commander.

In this important capture of Delhi, it is worthy of note that the deed was achieved before a single soldier of the many thousands from Britain sent out for the recovery of India had landed upon its shores. What might not, therefore, be anticipated for the complete re-establishment of the British dominion when these troops had arrived? Another gratifying circumstance was the faithful devoted zeal of those native soldiers who remained true to their colours during all the weary months of siege, and the hearty co-operation of the Rajah of Putteeala, and Jheend Rajah, the former in quelling the revolt of Umballa, and the latter in the operations of the siege. Their services, as well as those of several khans, showed that all India was not against us—that there were many who could rightly appreciate the benefits of British rule, and maintain it in the field even against their own misguided countrymen. They were thanked by the governor-general in council, and in the proclamation delivered afterwards it was stated, “These true-hearted chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour, and friendship of the British government, and they will not repent it.”

CHAPTER XXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1857—1858.

VICTORIA.

Condition of the British garrison in Lucknow—Their difficulties and disasters during the siege—Their courageous resistance—Their hope of relief disappointed—General Havelock advances to their aid—His successful entrance into Lucknow—He reinforces the garrison and enables it to hold out—Sir Colin Campbell's masterly advance to the relief of Lucknow—His entrance into the residency—He extricates the garrison—Death of General Havelock—General Windham's battle with the rebels at Cawnpore—His troops driven back—They are relieved by Sir Colin Campbell—Jung Bahadoor joins the British—Diminished range of the rebellion—Sir Colin Campbell's capture of Lucknow—Excesses of the native auxiliaries at the capture—Campaign of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India—His victories and captures—His attack on Jhansi—Jhansi taken—Desperate resistance of the fort and city—Further victories of Sir Hugh Rose—Tantia Topee and the Ranee of Jhansi leaders of the rebels in Oude—Oude disarmed—Severe policy of the governor-general for the subjugation of the province—The commissioner of Oude remonstrates against it—Its condemnation by the East India Company—Resolution of the British government to substitute the rule of the crown for that of the Company over India—The resolution introduced into parliament—Protest of the Company against the proposed change—Difficulties opposed to it in parliament—Lord John Russell's fortunate interposition—Successful progress of the measure—A sudden arrest upon it—Lord Ellenborough in consequence resigns office—The India bill at length passed—Preamble of the bill transferring the government of India to the crown—Successful continuation of the war in India—General pacification of the country promoted by the transference of rule—Royal proclamation to the natives of India—Lenient conditions offered by it—Difficulties in the pacification of Oude—Resistance of the ex-Queen of Oude—The rebellion in Oude quelled by Lord Clyde—The revolt of India subdued.



AFTER the capture of Delhi, the great object of interest was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, whose condition was every day becoming more perilous. Already they had endured a long and harassing siege, in which active courage and patient endurance had been equally tried to the utmost; and upon any day, or at any hour, no alternative might be left to them but surrender. We have already mentioned the diligence with which the half-ruined building called the Muchee Bhawan had been repaired and fortified, and how necessary it was found, almost immediately after, to undo the work, by evacuating and blowing up the fortress. After the disasters of the 30th of June, Sir Henry Lawrence, the commissioner, had found that it would be impossible to maintain both the Bhawan and the residency, and that to leave the former in the hands of the enemy would be to give them the means of commanding the latter defences: he therefore destroyed it, and withdrew on the 1st of July, confining himself exclusively to the residency, in the hope of maintaining it until relief arrived. But on the following day he was mortally wounded by the fragment of a shell that alighted in the chamber where he was reclining on his bed, worn out with anxiety and sickness. Major Banks, whom he appointed his successor, was equally unfortunate, being killed by a musket-bullet on the 21st of July. Deprived successively of their two brave

leaders, the situation of the little garrison was perilous in the extreme. The neighbouring mosques and noblemen's houses, which Sir Henry Lawrence, from a regard to religious buildings and private property, had spared, although he was urged to destroy them, were manned by the enemy's sharpshooters, who kept up an incessant fire; and as they were within pistol-shot of the British barricades, every part of the residency was exposed to the muskets of about 8000 men, who discharged their volleys wherever a gap was found, or a living object was visible. Thus even the women and the children were comparatively under fire in the recesses of the innermost apartments, and the sick in the hospitals were exposed to the same mischievous annoyance, by which several lives were lost. Nothing could exceed the pertinacity of the enemy, who surrounded the British post with batteries mounting from twenty to twenty-five guns, which were protected by barricades that defied every attempt to silence them by musketry, and who constructed mines under the principal defences of the residency, by which its defenders were constantly in danger of being blown into the air. Every art of warfare which they had learned in the British service was adopted by the mutineers, who were confident in the thousands they could muster for the attack, and in the miserably limited means and numbers of those who resisted. But those who had such overwhelming odds to confront were

true to the long-established reputation of their countrymen; and never in our Indian wars were British valour and British indomitable resolution more conspicuous than in the defence which this small party maintained against such an ocean-tide of opposition at Lucknow. Exposed to incessant cannonade, and the fire of musketry, they never lost courage: kept on the alert by continual night alarms, in which, from the fewness of their numbers, all were obliged to be on the watch, they never allowed themselves to be surprised. To sleeplessness was added the nightly toil of moving heavy guns, repairing breaches, and other fatigue-duties; but every day found them awake, and ready for its active calls and dangers. When opportunity offered, they even assumed the aggressive, and in five sorties which they successively made, they spiked two of the enemy's

heaviest guns, and blew up several of the neighbouring houses, from which the fire had been especially dangerous. But wofully were their numbers thinned, not only by the casualties of such a defence, but by scanty and coarse provisions, which added small-pox and cholera to the list of their other calamities. And what the while of the heroines of Lucknow? They too have erected for themselves an imperishable record, and strong men became stronger at the spectacle of their unfearing, uncomplaining endurance. Many of them were made widows in the siege; and at the bedsides of the sick and the wounded, where every one was a Miss Nightingale, they found in active Christian duty the best sources of Christian consolation and hope.

But human endurance, which in this instance seemed to be boundless, has its limits; and from



THE INTERIOR OF THE ALUMBAGH, NEAR LUCKNOW.—From Lieutenant Mechem's Siege of Lucknow.

day to day many a wistful eye had looked into the far distance for the expected relief, only to be disappointed, while the messengers whom they sent out for tidings never returned. At length, on the twenty-sixth day of the siege, the garrison were cheered by a letter from Havelock's camp, informing them that the troops were on their march, and in five or six days would probably reach them. But six days elapsed, and no aid arrived. They did not learn until thirty-five long days had passed that the relieving force, after such strenuous efforts and signal victories, had been obliged to fall back upon Cawnpore. But their relief from Cawnpore was to issue at last, and not an hour later than the march could be commenced. At that city Sir James Outram, justly called by Napier the "Bayard of India," arrived on the 16th of September, with the reinforcements for which Havelock had been so anxiously waiting; and although, as superior officer and chief

commissioner of Oude, Sir James might have himself undertaken the relief of Lucknow, he chivalrously resigned the whole glory of the enterprise to General Havelock, who had already achieved such deeds in the attempt, offering to accompany him as a volunteer. Thus invested with a mission on which his generous heart was so keenly bent, Havelock crossed the Ganges at the head of 2500 men, among which were the gallant 78th Highlanders, to whom his previous victories were chiefly owing, and seventeen guns. The enemy, after retiring at his approach, attempted, on the 21st (September), to make a stand at Mungalwar, but after a four hours' fight they were defeated, and Havelock pressing forward, was within three miles of the residency of Lucknow, when on the 23d he found the enemy advantageously posted, with their left resting on the Alumbagh, an isolated building with gardens and inclosures, and their centre and right drawn

up behind a chain of hillocks. But the strategic skill and rapid movements of General Havelock, seconded as they were by the gallantry of Sir James Outram, were again successful; the enemy were defeated once more; and after halting his troops, that had marched three days in a heavy deluge of rain, and been scantily provisioned and badly lodged, the victorious commander effected his decisive advance upon the residency. What remained was a terrible march, along a road cut by trenches and crossed by palisades, with the houses loop-holed on either side of the way, and where progress was to be made at one step by detouring and the next by fighting, while night was fast coming on; but aware of the value of every moment, and dreading the consequences of delay to the besieged, whose danger was now at the climax, Havelock and Outram put themselves at the head of the 78th Highlanders and the Ferozepore regiment, with which they charged and surmounted every obstacle, entered the residency, and were welcomed by a long-drawn sigh of relief, that was followed by shouts of almost delirious triumph. Deliverance had reached the garrison—but through what a fiery furnace it had come to them! No wonder that Havelock himself looked back upon it with astonishment, accustomed as he was to dare all but impossibilities. "Our advance," he writes, "was through streets of flat-roofed, loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and thus each forming a separate fortress. To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome, reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear. The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear, some or all have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men." Among those who thus fell was the brave General Neill, a name distinguished in this unhappy war, who was killed on entering the gate leading to the Doolie Square. From the number of the fallen out of this small relieving force, an idea may be formed of the importance of the object at stake, and the earnestness of those who were engaged in the enterprise.

Though much had been done, the garrison of Lucknow by this last exploit had been reinforced but not relieved. A sufficiency of troops had arrived to lighten the labours of the overwearied defenders and insure their safety for the present, but not to withdraw them from the place around which the coil of siege, after the momentary interruption, was drawn as closely and strongly as

ever. Finding it impossible, therefore, to extricate the women, children, and non-combatants, General Havelock and his companions in arms



GENERAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.—From a photograph by Herbert Watkins.

resolved to remain with them and abide the brunt of conflict until General Sir Colin Campbell, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, should be able effectually to relieve them. This distinguished hero of the Crimean war had arrived at Calcutta from England on the 14th of August; but as he was obliged to wait the coming of reinforcements from home, it was not till the 9th of November that he was able to set out from Cawnpore for the effectual relief of Lucknow. Even then, important and difficult as was the task, his force amounted to only 4550 men and thirty-two guns. On the 12th he arrived at the Alumbagh, and there his difficulties commenced, as the residency was to be reached through the heart of the city, where every street, house, and wall was a fortress, a march along which would have been enough to have destroyed thrice the numbers he commanded. But he had been previously informed of all the localities of the city and suburbs, and the positions of the enemy, and he availed himself of this knowledge by making a detour to the right, as Havelock had done. It was effected with equal success, although against obstacles equally formidable; and, after a series of desperate skirmishes, he reached the residency on the 17th, his arrival being aided on the part of Havelock and the garrison by a sally, in which the enemy was routed and the way cleared for his entrance. And now to remove the women and children, the sick, wounded, and civilians, for he saw that the residency must be abandoned! This was a still more difficult task than to lead armed men into the place. But this also was suc-

cessfully accomplished. By a series of masterly feints Sir Colin distracted the attention of the enemy; and while he kept them massed together in the expectation of an immediate attack, he quietly removed the helpless during the afternoon and night of the 19th, along a line of posts which he formed on the left rear of his position, and conveyed them in safety to Dilkoosha, a palace belonging to the Kings of Oude, after which the troops of the garrison followed on the 22d, and all reached Dilkoosha in safety, without the loss of a man. In like manner the whole of the treasure and all the European guns were carried off in safety. So completely the while was the enemy deceived, that their fire was kept up on the old British positions many hours after they had been abandoned. Altogether it was one of the most masterly retreats under trying disadvantages which the history of modern warfare has on record. Only one event occurred to mar the joy of the rescued, and this was the death of the brave Havelock, who expired at Dilkoosha on the 24th, by an attack of dysentery, under which his enfeebled frame, worn out with such excessive exertions, rapidly sunk. Undistinguished during a long course of military service since 1815, except among his friends, who knew him to be a master of strategy in all its branches, he had no sooner attained a separate command, and found his right sphere of action, than he crowded within little more than two short months such a series of victories as would have sufficed for a lifetime, and made any commander illustrious. In that brief period he combined the rapidity of Napoleon with the caution and foresight of Wellington, and upon his own limited field was as successful as either, while the tidings of his victories, which reached home in rapid succession, made all men wonder who this new hero was, and why he had been neglected so long. The queen created him a baronet, but it was three days after he had expired at Dilkoosha, and thus the wreath that should have decked his brow could only be planted on his grave.

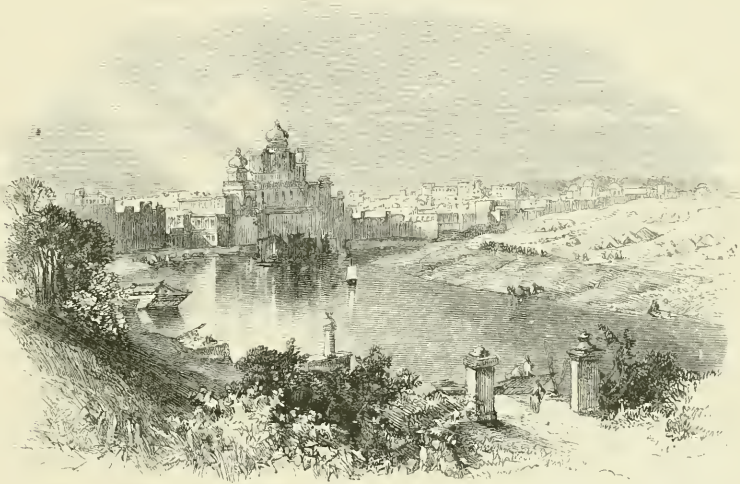
Sir Colin Campbell was now in full retreat to Cawnpore, where the ladies, children, and civilians, a helpless band of 2000 souls, might be left in safety before further military operations could be undertaken; and he had reached Bunnee on the evening of the 27th November, when he heard a heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, for which he could not account, as he had received no news from that quarter for several days. But there a desperate battle was going on, and the British arms were in danger. During the absence of Sir Colin, General Windham occupied the military cantonments which lay to the south of that city; but on learning that the Gwalior contingent

of rebels were advancing to attack it on the north, he marched on the 26th to encounter them before they could reach Cawnpore, and found them drawn up on the opposite bank of the Pandoo Nuddee, the bed of which river was at that time dry. The disparity between the two armies was alarming, for while General Windham's force consisted of only 1200 infantry, 100 cavalry, and eight guns, the rebels were about 25,000 men, well provided with artillery. They were gallantly charged, and their advanced troops were driven back; but on their main body coming up, General Windham retired his troops to the canal. On the following day the rebels commenced the attack with a heavy cannonade, that was kept up for five hours, under which the British were obliged to withdraw to their entrenchments after severe loss, while their tents and camp stores, which they were compelled to leave behind them, were burned by the enemy. It was this firing that arrested the attention of Sir Colin Campbell, and surmising that General Windham was attacked, he hurried forward to the rescue. On reaching the scene of conflict in the evening, he found the British shut up within their entrenchments, and the rebels in possession of the city. It was necessary to dislodge them; but before the attempt could be made, the helpless survivors of Lucknow under his charge had to be conveyed across the Ganges by a single bridge which the enemy had not destroyed, and it was not until the 30th that the last cart had crossed the bridge, while two or three days more were spent in having them safely forwarded to Allahabad. He was now in readiness for the fight; but his arrival had made the enemy cautious, and it was not until they had been reinforced by the rebels of Oude and the followers of Nana Sahib that they ventured, on the 6th of December, to make a decisive stand. But they were effectually beaten, with the loss of all their guns and ammunition, and wherever they attempted to rally they were met by British detachments, and so thoroughly routed and dispersed, that this Gwalior contingent as an army could no longer be found. Nor did Nana Sahib, who had sent reinforcements to the rebels, escape a merited chastisement; for troops were sent to Bhitoor who destroyed all his remaining property, discovered and seized his treasures which were concealed in the wells, and soon left him too poor to continue long his rebellion with any hope of success. While one powerful rebel chief was thus reduced to comparative helplessness, our government in India had obtained an effective ally in Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the prime minister of the King of Nepal. This prince having offered his aid to the governor-general, which was gladly accepted, crossed the frontier with 10,000 Ghoorkas, among the most warlike

of the population of India, and in his advance he, on the Juanpore frontier, twice encountered and defeated a rebel army. He then, at the close of the year, established himself at Goruckpore, to check the rebels of Lucknow in any attempt they might make in an easterly direction after Sir Colin Campbell should have driven them from the city, an event which was anticipated as likely soon to take place. Indeed, all fear and foreboding as to the result of the Indian mutiny was now at an end. Reinforcements had been sent from Britain in such numbers that no native army could confront them successfully in the field; the British soldiers were confident in the valour and skill of their well-tried illustrious leader, while the rebels were so daunted by repeated defeats, that their courage and confidence were on the wane. The revolt was now in a great measure confined to Rohileund, to the territory

between Agra and Allahabad, to Bundelcund, and to Oude, while the great metropolis of the insurrection after the fall of Delhi was the populous, warlike, and strongly-fortified city of Lucknow. To strike a mortal blow, therefore, at the head of the evil, by the final conquest of this place, was the aim of the commander-in-chief after he had effected the liberation of the garrison.

All being in readiness for this important enterprise, Sir Colin Campbell commenced operations by sending forward two regiments on the 1st of January, 1858, to prevent the rebels from destroying an iron suspension-bridge across the river Kallee Nuddee. He then commenced his own march two days after to Futteghur, where he remained till the 1st of February, restoring order in the disaffected districts of the Doab, after which he proceeded to Cawnpore, for the purpose of crossing the Ganges at that place; and to clear



CHUTTUR MUNZIL PALACE, LUCKNOW.—From a photograph engraved in the Illustrated Times.

his line of march, strong detachments were sent forward, by one of which, commanded by General Franks, a brilliant victory was gained over an army of rebels 21,000 strong, who were encountered and completely scattered at Badshahgunge, about two miles from Sultaupore. On the 5th of March Sir Colin was before Lucknow with his whole force collected, and his siege train brought up, the right of his line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomtee river, and his left stretching towards the Alumbagh. With such a force as was now arrayed against the devoted city, the issue could not long be doubtful. On the 9th the attack commenced, and by the 21st all the strong defences of Lucknow were stormed and won; the rebels were fleeing in every direction, and a scene followed such as only a rich eastern city could exhibit, when a large portion

of the victors are barbarians inflamed with the feelings of hatred, avarice, and revenge. It was now the hour of triumph for the Asiatic allies of the British, and they did not neglect the opportunity. "Those stately buildings," says an eye-witness, "which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oude on a state day, were now open to the common soldier and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive." After a painful description of the spectacle, the writer adds, "It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder—

the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooly-bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Ghoorkas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth." On the whole, it seems to have been but a renewal of the capture and sacking of Jerusalem, Babylon, or Nineveh, as they were exhibited nearly 3000 years ago, when war was comparatively young, and the passions of men at the wildest. How unfortunate it was for the British that the necessity of their position should have united them with such allies, and made them in some measure responsible for their deeds!

In noticing the leading events of this war, it would be unpardonable to omit the campaign that was carrying on in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose, at the head of the Malwah or Nerbudda field force of about 6000 men, of which 2500 were British. At the end of January Sir Hugh captured Ratghur, situated on a pear-shaped hill, and surrounded with precipices, except at the narrowest part, by which, however, the access was very difficult. Although one of the strongest forts in Central India, its difficulties were surmounted and the walls stormed in three days, and such of the rebels as escaped were obliged to use ropes to aid their descent down the rocks. He then advanced to the relief of Saugor, where an European garrison and about a hundred women and children had been closely besieged for more than half a year; and on his arrival the enemy were glad to raise the siege. Soon after, the Garakota fort, situated between the Giddaree and the Sonar rivers, yielded almost without a blow, although it was so strong that it might have withstood a siege for months against the whole assailing force. Sir Hugh Rose having thus dislodged the rebels from their most available defences, commenced at the end of February his march upon Jhansi, on the way to which there was a mountain-ridge with three passes, that formed the means of a military advance upon Jhansi. Judging that of these three Sir Hugh would select the pass of Narut, the most difficult of them all for his march, as the one least apt to be guarded, the rebels had barricaded and blocked it up with masses of rock, and stationed in it the Rajah of Banpore, with a

force of 8000 or 10,000 men. But Sir Hugh, making merely a feint of attack upon the Narut, threw his real advance on the 3d of March upon the pass of Nudinpore, where an entrance he knew was most practicable, although the enemy occupied it in considerable force. The rebel sepoys who lined it were driven from their shelters and through the gorge into the village of Nudinpore, which they had fortified, and where they attempted to make a final stand, but they were soon compelled to flee from it to the jungle; after this the forts of the passes were speedily taken, and Sir Hugh Rose was master of the whole country between Saugor and Jhansi, to the east of the Betwa river.

The attack of Jhansi itself was now the great object of enterprise. It was the richest city in Central India, and one of the most culpable in the massacres and plunders of the rebellion, so that there was scarcely a house in which there was not some booty that had been taken from the English. Its fortress also was strong, not only by its natural position, but the resources of art; and its walls, which were built of granite, from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, were well embrasured for cannon and loop-holed for musketry, while the place was defended by a garrison of 12,000 men, headed by a fearless virago, the Ranee of Jhansi. Altogether, the siege was one of the most desperate undertakings of the war; but the capture of fort and city was certain to be followed by the downfall of the rebellion in Central India. Seven flying camps of cavalry were established round the city, which was about four miles and a half in circumference; and as the fort could only be breached from the south, where it was strongly fortified by a ditch, mound, and wall, batteries were erected against this quarter, and a heavy cannonade opened upon it on the 21st of March. But desperate was the resistance of the men of Jhansi, who were conscious of their crimes, and apprehensive of a just retribution. By the 30th of March the defences both of city and fort were dismantled by the British artillery, but as the ammunition of the besiegers was running short, they resolved to attempt Jhansi by escalade. The assault was made on the 2d of April, and the city was successfully entered by two storming columns, who fought their way through every obstacle until they met and were concentrated in the palace. "This was not effected," says Sir Hugh Rose in his graphic description of the siege, "without bloody, often hand-to-hand combats. One of the most remarkable of them was between detachments of her majesty's 85th regiment and 3d Europeans, and thirty or forty Velaitie sowars, the body-guard of the Ranee, in the palace stables under the fire of the fort. The

sowars, full of opium, defended their stables, firing with matchlocks and pistols from the windows and loop-holes, and cutting with their tulwars, and from behind the doors. When driven in they retreated behind their horses, still firing, or fighting with their swords in both hands, till they were shot or bayoneted, struggling even when dying on the ground to strike again. A party of them remained in a room off the stables, which were on fire, till they were half burned: their clothes in flames, they rushed out, hacking at their assailants, and guarding their heads with their shields." Such frantic deeds of despairing resistance, of which the foregoing is a specimen, were multiplied over the streets and buildings of Jhansi before it was taken; and it was well that there was nothing less than the utmost of British courage and firmness to confront them. When all was hopeless both for city and fortress, the Ranee gave the signal for flight, by mounting a gray horse, and making off with only four attendants, with a body of British cavalry in full pursuit; and on the night after, the rebels fled from the fort, leaving it wholly defenceless, but not until they had lost 5000 men in the siege and storm. The city was treated with more humanity than it had deserved or expected, and the British soldiers, after the storm had ceased, were to be seen everywhere sharing their rations of food with the wives and children of those who had been the murderers of their countrymen.

After the fall of Jhansi, the capture of Calpee was the next enterprise to be attempted, and Sir Hugh Rose, directing his march in this direction, encamped at Golowlie, on the Jumna, about three miles from Calpee, where he was attacked on the 22d of May by the rebels, who advanced upon him with great spirit and confidence; but after a hard fight their left wing gave way, and their whole army was put to the rout. On the following day he commenced an attack upon Calpee, in the form of a regular siege, expecting a stout resistance; but after firing a few shots, the enemy took fright and fled from the town, leaving it in the hands of the British, who there discovered a subterranean magazine containing an immense quantity of gunpowder and cannon, which had been stored for the maintenance of the rebellion. Besides these successes, other victories which had been gained by Generals Roberts and Whitlock made Sir Hugh Rose imagine that Central India was now completely cleared of the rebels, and that there would be no further occasion for the services of his troops in that quarter. This he announced to them in a farewell address, in which he complimented them on their gallant meritorious services during the arduous campaign. But his hopes were premature, for the war was not yet ended: the leader of the rebels

at Calpee, whose name was Tantia Topee, had retreated before the fall of the town, and in him the British found the ablest and most impracticable of all the chiefs of the rebellion. He retired to Gwalior, the capital of Scindia, whose troops he persuaded to fraternize with the rebels; and when the fugitives of Calpee fled, they joined these new allies, and drove Scindia from his capital to the British cantonments at Agra, after which they placed Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, upon the throne of Gwalior. These events called Sir Hugh Rose again into the field; but before his arrival, the principal rebels and Tantia Topee had left Gwalior, taking with them all the treasure they could find, and leaving the Rancee of Jhansi to abide the encounter, at the head of her rebels of Calpee and the mutineers of the troops of Scindia. Sir Hugh found them occupying the Moorar cantonment in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, dislodged and defeated them, and drove them in headlong flight into the capital. On the 19th of June, the rebels rallied upon a range of heights in front of the town, being headed by the Rancee of Jhansi, who was dressed in male attire, and fought gallantly like a common soldier; but they were defeated with the loss of twenty-seven guns, and also of their brave Amazonian leader, who is supposed to have fallen in the battle, as she never afterwards appeared. Scindia was thus restored to his capital and throne, and the rebellion in Central India being now at an end, the troops of Sir Hugh Rose were parted into garrisons for Jhansi, Gwalior, and other parts of the country.

With the fall of Lucknow, its capital, the kingdom of Oude might be considered as disarmed; and it now became necessary to determine the line of policy that was to be followed out in the government of this dangerous and rebellious province. This was soon announced by Lord Canning, the governor-general, then at Allahabad, in a proclamation which he issued on the 3d of March. His first object, he declared, would be to reward those who had been steadfast in their allegiance, and who had aided and supported the British authority; and after this, the nature of the reward was announced, and the persons who were to enjoy it. Six talookdars (land-owners) of Oude, including two rajahs, were named, and it was declared that these were henceforward to be the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when the province came under British rule, with such additional rewards as the government should judge fit to confer upon them—but that with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, to be disposed of according to its own judgment. To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers,

who should make submission to the chief commissioner of Oude, surrendering their arms to him and obeying his orders, an indemnity from punishment should be granted, provided that their hands were unstained with English blood murderously shed; but for any further indulgence they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. Those among them who should promptly come forward and support the chief commissioner in the restoration of peace and order, were to have their claims of restitution to their rights liberally considered; but those who had participated in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen were to be excluded from all mercy. Such was the proclamation sent to Sir James Outram, the chief commissioner, who neither relished its terms nor the ungracious power with which it invested him, and he lost no time in writing from his camp at Chinhut to Lord Canning, remonstrating upon the impolicy of the measure. There were not, he declared, a dozen chiefs and landholders who had not participated in the rebellion; and those who were thus to be summarily dispossessed would betake themselves to their domains, and continue their resistance. Hitherto, he alleged, they had been most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and hence, when the rebellion was at its height, and their country overrun by the rebel soldiery, they had made common cause with the insurgents; and this being the case, they ought now to be treated rather as honourable enemies than as rebels. These, and other such considerations, were urged by Sir James Outram, but with little effect, for although Lord Canning added a short clause more definite in its promises of restitution to those who should give their aid in the establishment of peace and order, no abatement was made to the right of wholesale confiscation, and the punishment of general dispossession.

Had these resolutions been adopted at an earlier period, and when the progress of our Indian conquest was in full career, they might have been passed without question and acted on without scruple. But now the case was different. We had almost lost our hold of India, and this by the severity of our rule, originating in over-confidence in our power. Such was the general feeling at home when tidings of this widely-spread and all but universal rebellion in our eastern empire had arrived in England; and while reports followed of the victories which our arms were achieving in the East, the popular triumph was accompanied with the surmise that the rebellion had been provoked, and that justice must be done to India. This was manifested even in the India House, when the original draft of Lord Canning's proclamation had arrived; and

a despatch, in the form of a letter from the secret committee of the court of directors of the Company, was sent to his lordship, animadverting upon his resolutions, and enjoining their mitigation. We had annexed the kingdom of Oude to our own dominion without just cause, and notwithstanding its past services and fidelity to our alliance; we had deprived it of its king, and imposed upon it our own rule, and administered its revenues, without regard to those whom the change had reduced from wealth and distinction to utter destitution. Under these circumstances the hostilities carried on in Oude had rather the character of a legitimate war than that of rebellion, and its people were to be regarded rather with indulgent consideration, "than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation." And in conclusion they added, "We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people: there cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation."

But the days of the Company itself were already numbered, and this humane appeal was a graceful close to its existence. The great subject of importance in parliament during the session of 1858 was the suppression of the rebellion in India, and the means of retaining the country under our rule, and for this even the important question of parliamentary reform was postponed. The consideration of the re-settlement and better government of India was brought forward by a motion from Mr. Vernon Smith, the president of the board of control, for leave to bring in a bill "for enabling the East India Company to raise money in the United Kingdom for the service of the government of India." And then followed the question asked by Mr. T. Baring, "What was the government of India?" "The East India Company," he added "was supposed to be a dying body; who then was to have the control over the money? The house ought to understand who was to raise the money, and who were to spend it. If the government of India were to be vested in the crown, India should have the benefit of the credit of this country." The bill, reducing the loan from £10,000,000 to £8,000,000, was passed, but still the questions were asked, "What was the security? What were the future liabilities of the consolidated fund in regard to the finances of India?"

As it was now certain that measures were about to be introduced by ministers for altering the form of government in India, the Company

drew up a long, elaborate, and able petition to parliament, setting forth its past services and exertions for the benefit of India and the empire at large, and deprecating the withdrawal of their powers, and the transference of their rule into other hands. It was presented by Earl Grey to the House of Lords, and by Mr. Baring to the House of Commons; but notwithstanding their appeals in its behalf, Lord Palmerston introduced on the 12th of February the government scheme for the new administration of Indian rule. Against it Mr. Baring moved an amendment, that "it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India." Of the debate itself upon so important a subject, and in which the personal interests of so many were at stake, it would be impossible to give within our limited range even a bare epitome, ranging as the arguments did not only over the abstract merits of the question, but the whole history of the administration of the Company in India from its commencement to the present hour. After the debate had been twice adjourned, the amendment on the 18th was negatived by 318 to 173. In consequence of the downfall of the Palmerston administration, and the formation of a new government under the Earl of Derby, the progress of the question experienced a short delay; but on the 26th of March it was introduced as "the India bill No. 2, for the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the crown," the bill of Lord Palmerston, which was not yet abandoned, being described as No. 1. The bill No. 2 was introduced by Mr. Disraeli, the new chancellor of the exchequer. But during the adjournment for the Easter recess, this new bill was closely scrutinized, and with such general reprobation, that there was no hope of its passing into law, at least without considerable alteration. The influence of the government was also felt to be so seriously damaged by this failure, that it was thought they could not meet parliament again upon the subject except under a serious disadvantage. But from this dilemma they were so adroitly relieved by Lord John Russell, that it was supposed his interposition was the result of a preconcerted design. As soon as the chancellor of exchequer had made his statement at the re-assembling of the house, announcing among other things that the second reading of the India bill would be proposed as soon as possible after the budget, Lord John announced his proposal:—it was, that they should not proceed at once with the India bill of the government, nor with the rival bill of Lord Palmerston, but to take resolutions in a committee of the whole house, and thus practically to obtain a consultation between the queen's ministers and the House of Commons on the principles of the

future government of India. The proposal was eagerly accepted by the ministers, and by none more gladly than Mr. Disraeli himself, who a few days afterwards laid on the table of the House of Commons a set of propositions which were to be moved in the shape of resolutions.

The settlement of the question being thus simplified, the chancellor of the exchequer moved on the 26th of April that the house on the 30th should resolve itself into a committee, to consider the foregoing resolutions. This was agreed to; but on that day, when the house had resolved itself into a committee, Lord H. Vane moved a resolution, "that the change of circumstances since the first proposal by her majesty's late advisers to transfer the government of India from the East India Company to the crown, renders it inexpedient to proceed further with legislation on the subject during the present session." But so little was the idea of further delay relished, that the motion of his lordship was negatived by 447 to 37. The chancellor of the exchequer then moved the first resolution, that "it is expedient to transfer the government of India to the crown," which was agreed to without a division. The second resolution, which affirmed the expediency of providing that "her majesty should have and perform the power and duties relating to the government of India by one of her principal secretaries of state," was also agreed to, merely substituting in lieu of the last phrase, the words, "one of the responsible ministers of the crown." All at once, however, a crisis occurred which threatened not only to scatter the India bill to the winds, but to unseat Lord Derby's cabinet. Early in May, a copy of Lord Canning's proclamation to the inhabitants of Oude was published, and this was quickly followed by the publication of the condemnatory letter addressed by Lord Ellenborough, the president of the board of control, to the governor-general. But the most awkward part of the case was, that while the proclamation was presented entire to the House of Commons, it was given with some omissions to the lords. Lord Ellenborough explained the causes of this discrepancy as originating in mere accident, but neither parliament nor the public would be so answered; and harsh as Lord Canning's measures had been in the Oude affair, it was thought that the censures passed upon them by Lord Ellenborough had been harsher still. They had not only condemned a public man absent at a post of great responsibility, and under circumstances of no common difficulty and peril, but by their publication of both documents had prejudiced the question, and endangered the administration, who would be thought to have sanctioned this act of their colleague. Under such circumstances, Lord Ellenborough made what expiation

he could by resigning office. Even this self-devoted sacrifice, however, was insufficient to allay the storm which continued to rage in parliament till the Whitsuntide recess, and from which, not only a change of ministry was apprehended, but a reconstruction of parties, or even a dissolution of parliament. But the agitators themselves became at last ashamed of the form the discussion had assumed, by which the subject was narrowed to the case of the province of Oude and the indiscreet act of Lord Ellenborough, and the question resumed its original aspect on the 7th of June when the parliament had re-assembled.

In the foregoing sketch, enough has been stated to show the difficulty with which the settlement of this important subject was attended. We cannot even advert to the discussions that followed, in which every step was followed by a pause or a conflict: all this was only commensurate with the importance of the great question of the future government of our Indian empire, in which so many mistakes were to be amended and so many evils redressed. It was felt that upon the issue our dominion of the East was to be permanently established—that by a single blunder it might be lost to us for ever. The India bill finally passed the House of Commons on the 8th of July, and that of the lords on the 23d, and received the assent of the crown on August 2d, the last day of the session. There is a solemnity and vastness of meaning in the simple words by which the transfer is announced in the first clause of the bill, to which the grandeur of the decrees of the Roman senate can present no parallel:—

“The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all the powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company, in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested, or which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act, India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.”

While these discussions were going on in the British parliament, the progress of the war in India was such as promised both a speedy and successful termination. A strong garrison was left in Lucknow to control the city and its neighbourhood, while a campaign was opened against the district of Rohilcund, to which the

Lucknow rebels had retired. Every fort that was assailed by the British was taken, and every enemy in the field put to the rout—and hence the little interest that belongs to the narrative of this closing portion of the war. It reminds us of the monotony of the Roman armies, every advance of which was a conquest, and every battle a victory, and where a chance incident of defeat or disaster is welcomed by the reader as a change and a relief. In all these proceedings, also, were to be recognized the masterly intellect and military skill of Sir Colin Campbell, who directed each movement, and who, for his able services, was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Clyde. The progress towards a general pacification was likewise promoted by the transference of the government of India to the British crown, and the natives were induced to reverence a sovereign power, more especially when aggrandized by remoteness and invisibility, in preference to the authority of men who were present, and known to be subjects like themselves. Accordingly, when a royal proclamation, which was transmitted to India, was published by the governor-general on the 1st of November, it called forth several native addresses to the queen, expressive of their loyalty and attachment.

In this proclamation it was announced to the native princes of India, that all engagements which had been made with them by the Company would be scrupulously maintained and fulfilled; that no extension of territorial possession was sought; and that no aggression upon it should be tolerated, or encroachment upon that of others sanctioned. It held itself bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound it to all the other subjects of the British empire. Upon the important subject of religion, in which the rebellion had originated, the declaration was explicit: “Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.” It was added, that all of whatever race or creed were to be freely and impartially admitted to such offices in her majesty’s service as they were qualified to hold. Those who inherited lands were to be protected in all rights connected there-

with, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and in framing and administering the law, due regard was to be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India. With regard to the late rebellion, a general pardon was granted for past offences, except to those who had taken part in the murder of British subjects, or who had given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration should be given to the circumstances under which they had been tempted from their allegiance. To all others still in arms against the government, an unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion was promised, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits, and compliance with these conditions before the 1st day of January next. Having thus dealt with present difficulties and offences in the spirit of peace and conciliation, the proclamation thus announced the purposes of the new change of rule: "When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

The chief difficulty that still remained was the pacification of Oude, without which our government of India could not be fully re-established; and to effect this, such decisive measures were adopted, as could only be justified by the necessity of the case, and the warlike dangerous spirit of the people. A proclamation was issued by Mr. Montgomery, who had been appointed chief commissioner of Oude, ordering that all talookdars, zemindars, and native inhabitants of the province should deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police station, within one month from that date, all their cannon, firearms, weapons, and ammunition, under pain of fine and imprisonment for one year, *with flogging*; and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands." The next step was to suppress the rebels who were still in the field, which was no such easy achievement, for they had made Oude their place of shelter and rallying point for their final stand, and were likely to defend it with the fierceness of despair. They had also for one of their chief leaders, the ex-queen of Oude, a woman of fearless courage and unyielding spirit, who issued a counter-proclamation to the people, warning them not to trust the promises of the

British government, and analyzing the proclamation of our sovereign, paragraph by paragraph, with all the shrewdness and caustic severity of a well-practised literary reviewer. The winter campaign was opened in November, and the Oude chieftains surrendered their hill forts, or were driven from them after a short and useless resistance. One of these forts was Shunkerpore, which Bainie Madhoo, an insurgent chief, held out against the approach of Lord Clyde. The commander-in-chief ordered him to surrender unconditionally, promising that in this case he should have no cause to repent of his submission; and to this, Bainie Madhoo returned for answer the following curious proposal:—"If the government will continue the settlement with me, I will turn out my father. He is on the part of Birjies Kuddr, but I am loyal to the British government, and I do not wish to be ruined for my father's sake." In justice however it must be owned, that this unfilial tender was only a feint, for on the following night the chief abandoned the fort with all his followers, and outstripped the pursuit that was sent after him.

This unexpected surrender of the fort of Shunkerpore, for the reduction of which the whole British force had been concentrated, enabled Lord Clyde to separate his army into divisions for the prosecution of the war on every side; and such success attended all his operations, that the rebels, everywhere beaten, had no resource except to surrender, or betake themselves to the hills of Nepal, where little else than a churlish welcome and precarious shelter awaited them. Thither Nana Sahib was driven after a ruinous defeat, to become an outcast and a hunted fugitive; and to this quarter also his brother, Bala Rao, betook himself, after attempting a final stand, in which his troops were beaten and dispersed, almost without resistance. Thus, with the close of the year, the rebellion in Oude, its last stronghold, had terminated, and an army, originally numbering 150,000, been routed and dispersed with comparatively little loss to the victors. Resistance indeed continued to be made, but it was the hopeless resistance of broken bands and fugitive chiefs, lurking among the fastnesses of Nepal, beyond the British dominions, and urged by hunger or revenge; and with every attempt their numbers were diminished and their range circumscribed, so that what had lately been armies, were little more than troops of brigands, whose outrages the nearest military station was strong enough to suppress. The British empire was re-established in India upon a basis more august and imposing than before; let us hope that it will also prove more authoritative and enduring, and that the change from the rule of a Company to that of the sovereign, will

be conjoined with that parental solicitude and clemency on the one side, which is the source of loyalty and filial affection on the other. May the people of Hindoostan be no longer mere thralls and aliens, but British subjects in reality as well as in name. May the cruelties of conquest and the iniquities of usurpation be cancelled and forgot in a happy futurity for India!

CHAPTER XXIII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1830—1853.

Difficulties in writing the history of religion as it now exists—Political history of the Church of England in the present day—Hostility of dissenters to the Established church—Their petition for its dis-establishment—Their petition to deprive the bishops of their share in the government—Petitions to admit the dissenters to university honours and privileges—Petition of the dissenters against church-rates—Extension of the means of spiritual instruction—Trial on the Lady Newley bequests—Decision of the House of Lords on the subject—General alarm at the aggressions of Popery—England divided into sees by the pope—Precarious condition of the principle of church establishment—Demand for the revival of convocation—Origin of Puseyism—Its progress and Popish tendencies—The Oxford tracts—Opposition to Puseyism by the Archbishop of Canterbury—Defeat of Puseyism in the trial of Mr. Gorham—Doctrines of Puseyism—Its claims in behalf of the apostolic succession, and efficacy of the sacraments—The Plymouth Brethren—Origin and progress of the sect—Their creed, form of worship, and polity—Beginning of the Row heresy in Scotland—Its transplantation into England and adoption by Mr. Irving—Its fanatical manifestations—Its final transition into the “Apostolic Catholic Church”—Its creed, government, and forms of worship—The Mormons or Latter-day Saints—Origin of the sect—Their creed—Their form of church government—Interest attached to Scotland in the religious history of this period—Growing increase of the Evangelical party in the Scottish church—General awakening of the public mind to its religious rights—The Voluntary controversy in Scotland—Overtures from the Evangelical party against patronage in the presentation of church-livings—Contest between the Evangelical and Moderate parties on the subject—The veto-law proposed in the General Assembly—Its conditions—Its establishment in the Scottish church—Rapid progress of church extension—Opposition of patronage to the veto—Commencement of the conflict at Auchterarder—The trial removed from the church tribunal to the Court of Session—Decision given against the church—Similar case of Lethendy—Recusancy of the Strathbogie presbytery to the award of the General Assembly—Consummation of their resistance—Their deposition by the church—The crisis of the conflict between church and state—Final rejection of the claims of the Scottish church by the House of Lords—Convocation of the clergy at Edinburgh—Their resolve to terminate their connection with the state—Incredulity of statesmen about this decision—Meeting of the General Assembly in 1843—The Disruption—The seceding ministers constitute a General Assembly of their own—Address of Dr. Chalmers to the new General Assembly—Formation of the Free Church—General astonishment produced by the Disruption—Present condition of the Free church—Prosperous state of its finances—Missionary societies—Bible societies—Reduction of the price of Bibles in England and Scotland.



THE history of the national church during the present period may be briefly summed up. This brevity, although partly owing to the paucity of events that occurred during these thirty years, is still more necessary on account of the wideness with which the knowledge of them is diffused throughout every class of society, and the vividness and distinctness with which they are remembered. They are part and parcel of the existence of the present generation, and of them every reader can be an historian to himself. To touch, therefore, on but a few of them, however lightly, is enough to recall the subject to his own thoughts in all its amplitude and completeness. This brevity, however, is most of all demanded by the nature of the events themselves, which being still so recent, have rather the character of ex-

periments awaiting their issue, than actions of which the character may be judged by their results. A generation, or even a whole century may have to pass away, before they can be tested by their full development.

In that department of the subject which may be called the political history of the church, the first circumstance that arrests our notice is the open and systematic hostility displayed by the dissenters against the Establishment, which they no longer recognized as the church of the nation, or deserving of the exclusive patronage and support of the state. The different classes of dissent were now sufficiently numerous and powerful to offer such a manifestation, and make their arguments heard; and however they might differ upon their several theological distinctions, they found, in this opposition to the Established church, a bond of common union, as well as the

means of displaying their own weight and importance, which had hitherto been too little recognized. In 1834, therefore, the conflict commenced, by numerous petitions from different bodies of dissenters to parliament against the exclusive privileges of the church, and praying for its total dis-establishment. But so bold a demand was premature; it roused the whole church party into alarm and active opposition, and such a shower of counter-petitions in favour of the church succeeded, that dissenterism was out-voted and silenced. It was only, however, that the mode of onset should be exchanged for others less obtrusive; and the next attempt was against the dignitaries of the church, who were to be deprived of their power in the state and their place in parliament. The great fabric of the national church was thus to be displaced stone by stone, instead of being thrown down by a single attack. This mode of eversion was commenced in the same year by a motion of Mr. Rippon in the House of Commons, "to relieve the archbishops and bishops of the Established church from their legislative and judicial duties in the House of Peers." It was a gentle, unsuspected approach to the full measure of dis-establishment; and although it was out-voted by 125 against 58, yet the largeness of the minority was full of promise to the assailants, and encouraged them to go onward in their warfare.

Another ground of umbrage with the dissenters, was the exclusive possession which the Established church maintained in the universities, in which none of their party, however learned, could compete for the literary distinctions they had merited, without subscribing their adherence to the Establishment. The removal of this disqualifying distinction was the next attempt of the dissenters, who got up numerous petitions for the removal of the test requiring them to sign the Thirty-nine Articles before they could take degrees in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. As they had a considerable party within the colleges themselves, they endeavoured to have their application backed by petitions to the same effect from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and they were so successful that from the latter a petition subscribed by sixty-three graduates and office-bearers was sent, craving for the abolition of "every religious test exacted from members of the university, before they proceed to degrees, whether of bachelor, master, or doctor in arts, law, and physic." The motion, when introduced into parliament, was withdrawn, but leave was given to bring in a bill to that effect. The bill was passed in the commons, but rejected on the second reading in the lords, while the debates in both houses were sufficiently characterized, not only by abundance of classical zeal

on either side, but also of political and religious rancour. The friends of the church were as keen for the old-established privileges of the universities as they had been for those of the bishops. To soothe the dissenters for their defeat in a measure which they had so much at heart, and in which the justice of their claim was so apparent, a ministerial bill was introduced to relieve them from the burden of church-rates; but unfortunately this ill-concerted plan only deepened their resentment. In the ways and means for making up the deficiency they would not only have to pay their share, but assent to the justice of the rate itself, which formed the ground of their opposition. They had declared from the beginning that the connection between church and state was un-Christian and sinful, and therefore, in the present case, they would not pay a farthing, either directly or indirectly, to uphold a church establishment—it was with them a matter of conscience, and not a mere question about the saving of money. Another plan of conciliation similar in character had the same result. It was an attempt to gratify the dissenters by a ministerial bill allowing them to celebrate the marriage ceremony in their own chapels, instead of being obliged to repair to the parish churches; but as it still required the banns to be proclaimed in the parish churches, the dissenters naturally refused even thus far to recognize and acknowledge any paramount authority in the Establishment. In the following year this difficulty was happily got rid of by Mr. Peel's bill, which, in the case of dissenters, dispensed with the proclamation of banns, making the attestation of a magistrate, before whom the parties should appear, to be sufficient for the purpose.

The non-payment of church-rates was the next subject on which the church was to be in conflict with dissenterism. This was no doubt an attractive doctrine for many who cared little for the distinctions of creeds and sects, by which payment could be withheld and money saved upon purely conscientious principles; and accordingly, in several large towns, especially in Sheffield and Manchester, the payment of church-rates had ceased, while the law was insufficient to enforce it. To meet this deficiency in time to come, and especially to conciliate the dissenters, a plan was proposed in 1837 by Mr. Spring Rice, the chancellor of the exchequer. It was, to take the whole property of the bishops, deans, and chapters out of their hands, and consign it to the guardianship of a commission, by whose management such improvement might be effected, that after these dignitaries were sufficiently paid, enough would be saved for the purposes of church-rates. It was no wonder if at such a proposal the hierarchy were indignant: it would not only

commence a spoliation of the church that might go on unchecked, but reduce its chief functionaries to a state of pupillage that would lower them in the eyes of the community at large. Accordingly, in the lords, the prelates, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, protested earnestly against the proposal, which, after a very animated debate, was defeated. That such a proposal, however, should have been made, and from such a quarter, was proof of the critical position of the state church, and the progress that had been made by its opponents.

After this there was a temporary lull in the conflict between the two great parties, and in the interval a measure of general benefit was brought forward, upon which all parties could be in full accordance. It was the extension of the means of spiritual instruction, which were still found to have fallen greatly short of the increase of the population. The subject was brought before the House of Commons in 1843 by Sir Robert Peel; and he proposed a relief of the evil by the endowment of additional ministers, and the augmentation of small livings, to the amount in all of £48,000 per annum. From what source this money was to be raised was a ticklish question, considering the jealousy with which every grant to the church was watched; but for this difficulty Sir Robert had so carefully provided, that his plan was received with general acquiescence. He proposed that the sum in question should be derived, partly from the retrenchments which had been made upon the large or superfluous livings in the church, and partly from Queen Anne's bounty for the augmentation of small livings. The annual sum of £48,000, it was acknowledged, bore but a small proportion to the necessity of the case, and the purpose to be accomplished; but it was anticipated that this government movement would have the effect of stimulating private and individual benevolence, as had been the case in the government grant for church extension, by which the original sum might be more than doubled. Sir Robert Peel's proposal was passed with cordial unanimity.

In the following year the dissenters entered once more into the field, and with a grievance which was generally thought deserving of redress. At the close of the seventeenth century, and before the Puritan spirit of England had departed or merged into new forms, Lady Hewley had bequeathed several benefactions to chapels of Calvinistic Independents, for the comfortable maintenance of their ministers in all time coming. But the Calvinism of these chapels had slowly and insensibly dwindled into Socinianism, and Unitarian instead of Calvinistic preachers occupied their pulpits, and availed themselves without scruple of those comfortable endowments which

had been left for the support of a very different kind of instruction. The period, however, for such passive endurance had gone by; the awakening of the different religious communities, which had been going on during the earlier part of this century, had roused both Presbyterians and Independents to a sense of their duties and their interests; and they found that their best-endowed charges were occupied by clergymen who, under the orthodox name of Presbyterians, inculcated the doctrines of Arius and Socinus. There could be also no mistake about the matter, as the tenets of these heresiarchs were boldly preached without concealment or reservation. A prosecution was accordingly commenced for the dislodgment of these pastors, and the recovery of the endowments to the purposes of the original founder; but the difficulty of arraigning a heresy, and the proverbial delays of the law, together with the sanction derived from the prescriptive right of possession, were so greatly in favour of the occupants, that after fourteen years of litigation, they still held their places. Nothing less than an act of parliament could decide the controversy, and accordingly, in 1844, a bill was brought into the House of Lords by the lord-chancellor, for "confirming the possession of religious endowments in the hands of dissenters," while the specific object was to ascertain to which of the two contending parties Lady Hewley's bequests rightly belonged. To settle all such cases for the present, and prevent their recurrence in future, the bill proposed to vest the property belonging to voluntary endowments of dissenting chapels in the hands of that community by which it had been held for the preceding twenty years. In favour of this measure it was argued that sects changed their forms and opinions through lapse of time, so that it was often difficult after half a century to identify them, and that a twenty years' possession was in such doubtful cases the best right of occupancy. By such a conclusion the purpose of the original donor was nothing, and the difference between the creeds of Calvin and Socinus a thing too minute to be detected! Notwithstanding a very keen opposition in both houses, the bill was passed by a large majority, and the endowed churches became the property of the present occupants. The dissenters were indignant at such a conclusion, and denounced it as a measure for giving undue favour and political support to the Unitarians.

These contentions between the two chief portions of English Protestantism might have been carried to greater lengths, and attended with more deplorable results, had it not been for the aggressions and advance of their common enemy. But since the passing of Catholic emancipation, which the Papists of Britain had ac-

cepted as only the first of a series of concessions, their demands had become more exorbitant, and their pretensions more menacing than ever, while government having committed itself in the first instance by yielding, was obliged to continue in the same course of conciliation. Such was especially the case in 1845, when Sir Robert Peel brought forward his bill in parliament for the endowment of the Maynooth college. The demand was a signal to all classes of Protestants to forget for a while their minor differences, and unite against the common danger; and accordingly churchman and dissenter met on one common field, and agitated against the measure with equal cordiality. But strong though they were in their union, they were unable to withstand the progress of that conciliatory spirit which was now the great political principle of the day, backed also as it was by some of the best of both parties, who measured the aims of Popery by the standard of their own moderation and sense of justice. The Maynooth grant was therefore passed, the particulars of which have been detailed in a preceding chapter; and as a state endowment of Popery, it remained a fruitful ground for opposition and protest, on which all other classes of religionists could be at one. Accordingly, the subject has continued to be a theme of parliamentary overture and popular petition to the present hour.

But if anything could tend to reconcile churchmen and dissenters, and make them forgetful for a while of their mutual feuds, it was the great Popish aggression of 1850. In this case, the Roman conclave, forgetful of its wonted caution, and trusting too much in the conciliatory spirit of our government, ventured to parcel out England into twelve Popish episcopal sees, as if the kingdom had already been wholly recovered to the spiritual dominion of Rome. This was a home appeal to the state itself, and to the political forbearance upon the subject of religious differences on which our statesmen had placed such confidence: it was a sudden flash of lightning by which the gulf was revealed, towards which they had been so contentedly marching. It was now time both for religionists and politicians to unite when church and state alike were thus rudely assailed, and our civil as well as religious liberties proscribed by one and the same Papal bull. Accordingly, as if it had been an affair of yesterday, we can vividly remember the universal national indignation that was roused at the insult—the cordiality with which every class, party, and sect arrayed themselves as one compact Protestant phalanx against it—and the lubricious softness and dexterity with which Popery receded, and wound itself out of its dangerous position. But is the attempt con-

clusively abandoned? Or does the infallible church relinquish a claim which she has once advanced, and attempted to reduce to action? These are questions that still continue to agitate the heart of British Protestantism; and if they can only make it more wary of future danger, and more anxious for the cultivation of a spirit of Christian union among its own discordant members, this frustrated attempt of Romish usurpation will yet prove one of the best of national benefits to Britain.

Amidst the rapid increase of dissenterism, and its growing hostility to establishments, an apprehension had been growing during the present period that the bond of connection between church and state would at no very distant period be dissolved. But this was a consummation which the friends of the Established church could not contemplate without alarm, and to avert it every expedient was suggested, while not a few had been adopted. This was manifested in a more tolerant and conciliatory spirit towards the dissenters; the stricter lives of the clergy, and a more careful discharge of their duties; the retrenchment of the higher salaries of the church, and the increase of the means of spiritual instruction. But still it was felt as if these remedies were in vain—as if the inundation was still advancing that would sweep away the barriers of state protection, and reduce all parties of religion to one common level. Among the various expedients suggested for the protection of the church a very common one was that of Convocation, in which the clergy assembled should meet, not in empty form as hitherto, but for permanent sittings, and with full power to legislate for the church in whatever its interests were concerned. But this *imperium in imperio* was too terrible for statesmen to contemplate; it would be a meeting before which even the “*omnipotence of parliament*” would stand rebuked, and in no long time might grow into a conclave as irresponsible and arbitrary as that of Rome itself. Nor were even the most anxious of the clergy less averse to such a measure. Independently of the invidious position in which it would place them with relation to the state on one hand and the community on the other, it would revive into fresh vigour all that contrariety of opinion and all those controversies which had prevailed in the church since the days of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding these considerations, Lord Redesdale ventured in 1851 to introduce into the House of Lords a motion for the “renewal of the synodical action of the church by the revival of convocation.” As might be expected, the proposal had not the slightest chance against the arguments that were brought against it, and it failed accordingly. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke

the mind of the more considerate of the clergy on this occasion. He feared that such a revival of convocation would only revive dissension and controversy. If the assembling of convocation, he added, were to end in reconciling some conflicting rubrics, or in supplying the deficiencies of others, the result would be little worth the cost. Thus far you would disappoint; go farther and you would excite. In stating the superior advantages of the Church of England as it now existed, his grace also said that during the last thirty years it had founded a thousand new parishes at home, and established twenty new episcopal sees in our colonies abroad.

But even more dangerous than the avowed antagonism of Popery and the hostile attacks of dissentism, was the rise of a party within the church itself that divided the best of its members, and threatened to rend the whole fabric asunder. We allude to that innovation which, under the name of Tractarianism or Puseyism, had its origin about the commencement of the present period; which continued to grow from year to year in strength, numbers, and importance; and which attracts notice and excites alarm even at the present hour.

The divisions of Protestantism so prevalent in England, the land of universal toleration, had tended from the beginning to unsettle the faith of the weak or the inquiring, and throw them into that state of uncertainty in which an infallible church is welcomed as a relief. But although Popery was at hand to receive them, they recoiled from such an alternative, well knowing the price it exacted and the odium to which it would subject them, so that the conversions from the Church of England to that of Rome had hitherto been few and of small account. While matters were in this condition, a body of clergymen at Oxford, with Dr. Pusey, professor of Hebrew in the university, at their head, began to publish a series of pamphlets, under the title of "Tracts for the Times," which were continued at short but irregular intervals until 1841; and as these productions were written by men of high name, and were distinguished by great learning, talent, and eloquence, they arrested attention, and were very widely circulated. The opinions which at first they announced were sufficiently startling; but as they went onward, they increased in boldness, and inculcated a creed that was neither Protestantism nor Popery, but a compound of both, laying claim alternately to the independence of the former and the infallibility of the latter. During the eight years of their continuance, ninety of these tracts appeared, and a party in the church was formed, which, under the name of Tractarians, Anglo-Catholics, or Puseyites, was numbered by thousands. But it was

not by tracts alone that the principles of this new creed were inculcated: they were also illustrated by novels, by poems, by poetry and architecture—by every means that could convey them into high places, and make them alluring to all who were of refined taste and sensitive temperament. The progressive growth of the system, its character under its full development, and the modes by which it was recommended, were nothing more, perhaps, than an undesigned and uncalculated result; but had it been a crafty device of the Jesuits themselves to bring back souls by whatever means to Rome, it would have been accounted a masterpiece of Jesuitism. For however alluring it was at first, and however complete in appearance, it was soon discovered by many of its converts to be only a compromise, and having gone thus far, they felt as if consistency required them to complete the journey. It became accordingly a sort of half-way house, in which the pilgrims made only a temporary sojourn; and the numbers that went onward from it to Popery, both among the clergy and laity, caused this to be regarded as an inevitable result. The eyes of the public were opened, and an outcry so loud was raised against the movement that an answer was necessary; and in 1839, Dr. Pusey, in a letter to the Bishop of Oxford which he published, endeavoured to show that the doctrines of the tracts had no such tendency, being fitted rather to check the progress of ultra-Protestantism, than support the cause of Popery. But the contrary of this continued to be manifested by the numerous secessions to Romanism, which were still on the increase; and the young students designed for the church who had embraced Anglo-Catholicism, felt that they could not take orders by subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles consistently with their present opinions. This was bringing matters to too conclusive an issue, and to satisfy the conscientious misgivings of such persons, Mr. Newman published Tract 90 of the series, in which he endeavoured to prove that an Anglo-Catholic might subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles without any religious inconsistency. But it was an attempt to prove too much; the university condemned the tract; and public feeling was so strong that the series was discontinued. Mr. Newman himself also refuted his own statements, and showed the impossibility of such a compromise, by seceding in 1845 to the Church of Rome, an example which was followed in the course of a few months by a considerable number of the clergymen of the Church of England, whom the tracts had infected with the doctrines of the new Oxford school.

It was now too late to deny or conceal the Romish tendencies of Puseyism, and accordingly

from this period those who held such opinions and still retained their livings adopted a more open course of action. Not satisfied with preaching the doctrines, they also introduced the forms



REV. DR. PUSEY.—From a print entitled *a Recollection*.

of Popery, and lighted candles upon the altars; bowing before the cross and using the sign of it, the intonation of the church service, and preaching in a surplice were introduced, under the plea, either that they were part and parcel of the earliest and purest period of our Reformation, or that they were in themselves decent and edifying, and conformable to the general practice of Christendom. Moreover, in the repairing of old churches and the building of new, a devout, scrupulous adherence was manifested to the peculiarities of medieval religious architecture, and no building was regarded as the house of God unless it was a gospel of stone and lime—a revival of the devotional structures, with their quaint allegorical ornaments, that had taught the eyes of the people of England in the days of the earliest Plantagenets. These were startling innovations; but the remissness of the prelates had been still more strange, for they either had looked on in utter silence or protested against them in little more than a whisper. But in 1845, when the evil had grown to a height, and toleration was no longer a virtue, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a letter to the clergy and laity of his province, requesting them to beware of introducing changes without the general acquiescence of the people, and warning them of the risk of division from any such attempts. A check was the consequence; but, owing to the gentle style of the letter, the interruption was only partial and temporary—the tide rallied and returned in full strength; and not only several congregations in

the country, but some of the richer ones in London, adopted those Anglo-Catholic practices which the Primate of all England had condemned.

A more decisive stand, originating in a personal grievance, was made in 1847. In that year Mr. Gorham had been presented to the living of Bramford-Speke, induction to which was refused him by the Bishop of Exeter, because in a lengthened examination, chiefly on the subject of baptism, he had refused to assent to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Mr. Gorham appealed to the court of archbishops, but there the prelate's decision was confirmed, upon which the case was transferred to the judicial committee of the privy council, who, after considerable delay and discussion, reversed, at the beginning of 1850, the decision of the inferior court. This was a discouraging blow to the Anglo-Catholics, and a large secession followed, so that during that and the following year, nearly one hundred clergymen abandoned the church and went over to the Romish communion. Previously, the example of the Church of Scotland at the Disruption had awoken among them the inquiry as to how far civil authority, and especially the right of the crown, extended in ecclesiastical matters and the government of the church; but the question assumed double vigour in consequence of this decision in the case of Mr. Gorham. Hence the motion for the revival of convocation and the exercise of synodical action made in the House of Lords in 1851, of which mention has been already made. The supremacy of the sovereign as head of the English church is still the subject of Puseyite controversy; and while this party are opposed to it, they feel that by remaining in the church they acknowledge that supremacy, and expose themselves to the charge of inconsistency. This they endeavour to avoid by declaring that their submission is under the saving clause "as far as is permitted by the law of Christ." But the law knows no such exception, and allows of no mental reservations, and a royal edict would give them no alternative but submission or secession. In the meantime the controversy still goes onward, and the party is increasing in numbers and in boldness; but as fast as accessions are made to it the increase is balanced by an equal proportion of members who leave its equivocal communion for that of Rome.

Of the doctrines of the Anglo-Catholics, as they are given in the Oxford tracts and numerous publications of the party, a short sketch will suffice. Their avowed aim was to bring back the Protestant church both in doctrine and practice to a complete harmony with Scripture and the Anti-Nicene fathers, and reject everything which had accumulated since the first Nicene council in A.D. 325. Here, therefore,

Scripture alone was not recognized as the test and standard of religious truth: on the contrary, early tradition was admitted as an equal authority; and instead of conceding the right of private interpretation to every individual, they bound him to receive the meaning of Scripture solely as it was held, or said to be held, during the first three centuries of Christianity. "Catholic tradition," as one of the tracts explains it, "teaches revealed truth, Scripture proves it; Scripture is the document of faith, tradition the witness of it; the true creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or scripturally proved tradition; Scripture by itself teaches mediately and proves decisively; tradition by itself proves negatively and teaches positively; Scripture and tradition taken together are the joint rule of faith." In this way, as only the learned in theology have access to tradition, the clergy would exclusively become the authoritative exponents of Scripture, and dictators of the popular faith. In this way, also, from such a remote, unsatisfactory, and contradictory source, the germ of every subsequent corruption in the Christian church can be easily derived, whether for ritual or doctrine. As the clergy were to be invested with such extraordinary power, it was necessary to find for them a divine commission; and this was done by the doctrine of apostolical succession. "Our ordinations," says Dr. Hook, "descend in an unbroken line from Peter and Paul, the apostles of circumcision and of the Gentiles. These great apostles successively ordained Linus, Cletus, and Clement, Bishops of Rome; and the apostolical succession was regularly continued from them to Celestine, Gregory, and Vitalianus, who ordained Patrick bishop of the Irish, and Augustine and Theodore for the English. And from those times an uninterrupted series of valid ordinations has carried down the apostolical succession in our churches to the present day. There is not a bishop, priest, or deacon among us who may not, if he please, trace his spiritual descent from Peter and Paul." By this revival of the doctrine of apostolical succession, which ecclesiastical history fails to establish, and which the wisest and most learned of our churchmen had gladly abandoned, the clerical claims to an authoritative right in the interpretation of Scripture was established, to the full satisfaction of Puseyism, while all other churches, except the Greek, the Roman, and the English, were thrown down to the level of mere schisms, and branded as heretical.

Another great source of clerical authority was the power of the sacraments as inculcated by the Anglo-Catholic teachers. The efficacy of these sacraments to procure divine grace and insure salvation was inherent, they alleged, in them-

selves; but to possess this efficacy, they must be administered by a priest who could lay claim to the apostolical succession. Thus the eucharist, when administered by the hand of such a clergyman, was in itself a communication of every spiritual benefit, which, if given by another, would only be an unmeaning ceremony or a downright profanation. But to invest the eucharist with this mysterious power, it was necessary for Puseyism to have recourse to the doctrine of transubstantiation; and this accordingly was done by the Oxford tractarians at an early stage of the controversy. They boasted of their church as being the sole depository of the body of Christ to his people, and Dr. Pusey alluded to their clergy as "intrusted with the awful privilege of making the body and blood of Christ." This, however, was felt to be dangerous language in a Protestant church, and from clergymen holding its appointments, so that a phraseology was adopted, by which the doctrine might be rendered less specific and repulsive. Accordingly, they stated that the body of Christ in the sacrament, although really present, is so only spiritually and after a transcendental manner, and not with the material qualities of a body, or with "bones and sinews," as the Council of Trent has asserted. But disguise the subject as they might by obscure words and unintelligible distinctions, their sacrament was a mass in which the real presence was contained, and to which the power of salvation was attributed. Another doctrine of Puseyism in connection with the sacraments, was that of baptismal regeneration, in which the graces bestowed by the "baptism of the Spirit" are attributed to that which is administered by water. "Whosoever has been baptized," says one of the tracts on this subject, "was thereby incorporated into Christ." "Our life in Christ Jesus begins, when we are by baptism made members of Christ and children of God." "Baptism is the channel through which God bestows justification, and faith is the quality through which we receive it."¹

Such were the principal doctrines of Puseyism as the system continued to expand, until it touched so closely the confines of Popery, that it was difficult to distinguish where the one ended and the other commenced; and in this manner a preparation was made for the absorption of a passive and negative system of belief into one that was active and positive. But while so learned and so logical a creed was rising into existence in the halls of Oxford, the seat of Greek erudition, patristic study, and mediæval taste, another, equally remarkable but for its opposite qualities of simplicity and nakedness, was commencing its existence in the illiterate seaport

¹ *Faiths of the World*, in the article "Anglo Catholic," by the Rev. J. Gardner, M.D.

town of Plymouth. We allude to the sect who, in consequence of the locality in which they first appeared, are known by the name of the Plymouth Brethren. This was in 1830, and in twenty years they had so greatly increased, that they numbered 132 places of worship, and 6000 or 7000 adherents. This indeed gives but a small proportion for each congregation, but the smallness of these congregational groups can be accounted for by the character of their simple polity, which is favourable to the assembling of little communities for social worship, rather than crowds for an imposing ritual, and the allurements of well-trained eloquence. In doctrine, the Plymouth Brethren hold several of those extreme opinions which were so prevalent among some of the sectaries during the period of the Commonwealth. All articles, creeds, and confessions they regard as a denial of the sufficiency of Scripture; a regular ministry and an established ritual they denounce as a refusal of the all-sufficient guidance of the Holy Spirit. All believers, they allege, are a spiritual priesthood, and every brother who possesses the gift of preaching is not only authorized, but also bound to exercise it for the edification of the church. In their meetings, therefore, any one who believes himself prompted by the Spirit may freely address the assembly, and should any one conceive himself so gifted as to devote himself exclusively to preaching, he must do it on his own spiritual responsibility, and exercise his office without appointment or ordination. Being thus independent of a regular ministry, the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are administered among them by lay brethren, and the last is observed among them once a week. As may be expected from the foregoing account, their idea of a Christian church is not that of an ecclesiastical organization, but a religious union and brotherhood—a body united under one spiritual head. With this simple polity, which resembles that of the Quakers, they combine certain practical doctrines which, under a vitiated state of society, would be certain to lead to unhappy practical results. They allege, that as all true believers have been delivered by Christ from the law as a rule of life, the preaching of the law to such is worthless legalism, and a denial of that perfect work by which Christ has made his people free. They also maintain that, being in a state of grace already, a Christian has no need to ask for blessings which he has already received, but only for an increase of them. These doctrines, and the completely republican character of their church government, have not only considerably increased the numbers of the community in England since the census given in 1851, but have been favourably received in America;

and in that congenial soil, the Plymouth Brethren, from the rapid growth of their cause, appear to have found their best resting-place and home.

While Puseyism had been springing up in the Church of England, it is worthy of note that a similar system, with an equally Romish tendency, was originating in the Scottish church. Its first manifestations, which appeared in the parish of Row, and the town of Port-Glasgow, on the banks of the Clyde, occasioned it to be called the Row heresy; while its pretensions, which aimed at the infallible interpretation of prophecy, the gift of tongues, and the working of miracles, were a source not only of great popular attractiveness, but of wild fanatical excess. The delusion, however, was chiefly confined to silly women; and on account of such supporters, as well as from the overstrained fervour of its absurdities, it would have been confined to its own narrow locality, and soon have died out, had it not been adopted by a heresiarch whose talents and reputation were fitted to give it publicity. This was the celebrated Edward Irving, who, after delighting by his pulpit eloquence the British metropolis, where he had been settled towards the close of the preceding period, was now astonishing it by his daring and heretical theories. Numbers of his excited followers, on hearing of the movement on the Clyde, hurried to the spot, to examine the portent, and judge of its reality; and as they had been previously hungering and thirsting for miracles, they quickly caught the infection, and hurried back to London, to communicate it to their fellow-worshippers. And strange was the exhibition now afforded by Mr. Irving's congregation that assembled at the Scots Church in Regent Square! The religious services were interrupted by the barangues of the inspired; women started up and in strange tones poured forth a jargon of words which none could understand, but which were assumed to be inspired by the same power that had imparted the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost; even the lame were commanded to walk, and the dead to rise to life, by those confident thaumaturgists, who were astonished at the non-compliance of their patients, and in whom want of faith alone, they declared, had been the cause of the failure. And of all the deluded none exceeded Mr. Irving himself, whose morbid intellect it inspired with fresh activity, and to whose eloquence it furnished a new and exciting theme. The latter days, he declared, had come; the miraculous powers of the church were restored; the millennium itself was at hand. But the Church of Scotland could no longer tolerate the unsoundness of his preaching, and the extravagant displays of his congregation; and in 1830 he was deposed from his local cure as minister of the

Scots Church in Regent Square by the presbytery of London, and finally, in 1833, from his standing as an ordained minister, by the presbytery of his native Annan. For these exclusions, how-



REV. EDWARD IRVING.

From a print by Meyer, after a drawing by A. Robertson.

ever, Mr. Irving cared little, surrounded as he was by prophets and prophetesses, who were of higher account with him than presbyteries and general assemblies; and on his expulsion from Regent Square he betook himself to a building in Newman Street, which his people had fitted up as a place of worship, and where he organized his congregation into a separate and distinct church. They were now placed under a fourfold ministry of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors, Mr. Irving himself being ordained as the angel of the church of Newman Street. In 1834 he died at the age of forty-two, worn out by a life of intellectual excitement, and the feverish labours of his latter years in supporting and propagating the doctrines of his new system. His followers, who were numerous, had at first been called Rowites, from the parish in which the excitement had commenced; but this name, which designated a small class of people who soon became ashamed of their aberration, passed into that of Irvingites, from the name of their great leader: this title also was soon abandoned for that of the "Apostolic Catholic Church," which they claim for their numerous and influential body, and by which they are now generally known. It may be stated, however, that in assuming this name they do not claim an exclusive right to hold it. They deny that they are sectaries or separatists of any kind, and consider themselves as members of the one

church baptized into Christ; while their great mission, they allege, is to reunite the scattered members of the one true church, the body of Christ. The only standards of belief which they acknowledge are the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds. But while they profess to be guided by these in their interpretation of the Word of God, they have a boundless latitude in reserve, by the authority they attribute and the credence they yield to the dictates of their prophets, which they receive as inspiration. They also believe in transubstantiation, and hold that the elements of bread and wine in the eucharist are the real body and blood of Christ. On this account the consecrated elements are constantly kept in a receptacle or pix upon the altar, and towards these the priests and people reverently bow on entering and leaving the chapel.

In the government of the "Apostolic Catholic Church," and in its forms of worship as well as its doctrines, those changes have entered that might have been expected from the members of which it was latterly composed, and the nature of its organization. Hence the disappearance of its early presbyterianism, and the various phases it afterwards presented, according to the prophet or the inspiration that might for the time predominate. Their first ministry was fourfold, consisting of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors; and in the ordination of a pastor, he was first designated by the prophet, after which the apostles ordained him by the imposition of hands. In this way, the sentence of deposition from the ministerial office pronounced by the Church of Scotland on Mr. Irving was removed by a prophet, when the former was to be appointed angel of the congregation in Newman Street. The same prophetic authority also decreed the appointment of elders and deacons, the former being invested with a priestly character, and the latter with the right of teaching. Afterwards, in 1835-6, the apostles, twelve in number, retired to Albury, to formulate their new church, and after a year of study and discussion they produced a constitution modelled somewhat in the form of a Jewish tabernacle, so as "to give an idea of the true relation and adjustment of the machinery of the universal church." This, however, was still found insufficient, and in 1838 the apostles, by the command of another prophecy, spent two years in visiting most of the European countries, to collect from their several churches whatever portion of divine truth could be found valuable in each; and in 1844 they again departed upon a similar mission. It was no wonder therefore if both in its ritual and forms of worship, this "Apostolic Catholic Church" soon comprised the varieties of the Eastern, Western, and Protestant churches, with a

strong infusion from those several sects which arrogate to themselves a superior and more direct heavenly inspiration. As might have been expected also, the more pompous and alluring ceremonial of the Church of Rome has obtained the preponderance in these importations, so that in their form of worship the Apostolic Catholics could scarcely be distinguished from those "worshippers of the beast," upon whom Irving until the hour of his death had never ceased to pour such terrible denunciations. Such a half-measure has produced the same effect that a similar process has wrought in Puseyism, by making this church a sort of resting-house on the way to Rome. Here, however, its transitions have not finally terminated, as it adheres to the doctrine of development, at least in ritualism, and holds out to its people the prospect of new rites and ceremonies more perfect still, which, in due time, will be revealed to their prophets and apostles.

After this explanation, the principal features in the public worship of this church, as being of uncertain duration, may be briefly announced. In framing their liturgy, they endeavoured to "combine the excellence of all preceding liturgies;" and while it largely partakes of the service-book of England as well as that of Rome, it is almost identified with the latter in its recognition of the real presence in the sacramental elements; its prayers for the dead; its intonations, chantings, and music; its variety of postures and evolutions. The priests and the numerous sacerdotal office-bearers, who of themselves almost form a congregation, are distinguished in their costume by the alb and girdle, the stole and chasuble, the surplice, rochette, and mosette, according to their offices and the functions to be performed; while a latitude is still given to the inspired men and women of the congregation to break forth upon the service with whatever divine revelation may at the moment be vouchsafed to them. Like the Puseyites also, they attach great importance to symbolical representations; and therefore while the walls of their churches are plentifully adorned with richly painted texts and allegorical figures, they have two lights burning upon the altar, to indicate the divine light by the institution of prophets and apostles, and seven before the altar, to represent the divine light communicated through the sevenfold eldership; while the incense which is burned during prayer, is to remind the people of the sweet incense of the prayers of the faithful ascending before the throne of God. So costly a ritual, and such a numerous priesthood, would be difficult to maintain, were it not that, besides free-will offerings, every member is required to give a tenth of his increase, that is, of his income of every description, for the support of the church and ministry.

A church so alluring in its form of worship, and so gratifying in its promises of novelty and change, has secured many followers, and the party is numerous not only in England and Scotland, but also in Ireland, in America, and several places of the Continent.

But still further removed from the authority of revelation, and wilder in its origin, its character, and doctrines, is the sect which has sprung up during this period under the name of "Mormons," or "Latter-day Saints." It originated in America under the notorious Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont in the United States; and the sect was first organized at Manchester, in the state of New York, on the 6th of April, 1830. Into the history of this vulgar arch-deceiver, Smith, it is unnecessary to descend; it is sufficient to state that he pretended to have received his new gospel engraved upon thin plates of gold, from the hands of an angel; that, though it was written in an unknown and obsolete language, he was divinely inspired to read and interpret it; and that after he had delivered this Koran chapter by chapter to his first followers, the number of converts rapidly grew into congregations in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. As the doctrines they taught were subversive not only of divine revelation, but the rules of common morality and civil government, the sect was driven from the different states into Missouri, from which they were soon after obliged to emigrate to Illinois, where they built their famous city and temple of Nauvoo. But here the popular hostility followed them: in 1844 Joseph Smith himself was murdered by an insurgent mob; and finding themselves still unsafe, the Mormons finally retired in 1847 to the Salt Lake Valley, far in the interior of America, where they formed their state of Deseret, in which they are still located.

Notwithstanding their loose morality and the wildness of their religious tenets, these Mormons or Latter-day Saints displayed that fervent zeal for proselytizing by which every new sect is distinguished; and their missionaries were active in making converts not merely throughout each of the United States, but in several of the countries of Europe. Not only in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have their efforts been attended with great success, but even in England and Wales, in which latter countries, in 1851, they had more than 30,000 converts; and since that time their number has greatly increased, notwithstanding their frequent emigrations to the parent community in the Salt Lake Valley. In our own country, however, the extravagant doctrines of the Latter-day Saints are somewhat abated, and their worst practices repudiated or at least avoided, especially polygamy and the right of

self-government, which no European state would tolerate. Their principles of belief, as set forth by Joseph Smith, their hierophant, are the following:—

“We believe in God the eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

“We believe that men will be punished for their own sins and not for Adam's transgression.

“We believe that through the atonement of Christ all men may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel.

“We believe that these ordinances are: 1st, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2d, Repentance; 3d, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; 4th, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

“We believe that a man must be called of God by prophecy, and by laying on of hands, by those who are in authority, to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

“We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church—viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c.

“We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, &c.

“We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

“We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God.

“We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the ten tribes. That Zion will be built upon this [American] continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaical glory.

“We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

“We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates; in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law.

“We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul—‘We believe all things; we hope all things;’ we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek thereafter.

Notwithstanding the temperate appearance of this creed, it will be seen at once that all is not announced. The Book of Mormon is to be received with the Bible as of equal authority, and even the revelations now existing are liable to

be superseded by those which are still to follow. But of all these strange doctrines, as well as the flagitious license allowed by Joseph Smith and his successors, the European converts are kept in ignorance, until they have hastened to the land of promise in the far West, where they find themselves inclosed within the verge of a watchful and vigorous theocracy, from which they are not permitted to escape. This government at its head-quarters consists of a presidency of three persons, a college of twelve apostles, and a council of twelve high-priests, with numerous local rulers under the titles of prophets, priests, elders, bishops, teachers, deacons, and evangelists or missionaries. The order of their priesthood is twofold, that of Melchizedek and that of Aaron; and every Mormon is required to give a tenth of his income for the support of the clergy, and a tenth of his time to the temple and other public works. Their sabbaths are merry festivals rather than days of solemn devotion, and are signalized by songs, dancing, and feasting. Infant baptism they denounce as sinful, on which account the rite is delayed until the child is eight years of age, at which period he is reckoned accountable; he is then baptized by immersion; and regeneration, which is supposed to be begun by the rite, is perfected by the laying on of the hands of the Melchizedek priesthood, through which he is baptized by the Holy Ghost. Such importance, also, is attributed to this sacrament that they have a baptism by proxy, in which a person is baptized in lieu of a dead friend, by which the deceased secures in the other world all the privileges of a Latter-day Saint, unless he has committed the unpardonable sin. In the Lord's Supper, which is administered every Sabbath, they use water instead of wine, and the bishops carry round the bread and a pail of water, with a tin or glass cup, to administer the elements to the people both young and old, who receive them in their pews. That such a system should have obtained a footing in Britain might be wondered at, did we not know the hungering for religious novelty which forms a characteristic of the age, and the multitudes of ignorant and enthusiastic persons who will always be found in every community, however elevated its general character and however abundant its means of religious instruction. It must be kept in mind, also, that they have received the Mormon delusion in its simplest and least repulsive form. Recent events in America, where the system has suffered a ruinous blow, have led to the expectation that its ramifications throughout Europe, already languishing, must speedily expire. But even at the worst, although it has matched the wildness of the Anabaptist heresy of Munster in the sixteenth century, and been accompanied with similar outbreaks, it may

yet like it undergo a taming process, in which it will be as difficult to recognize the successors of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young as those of John of Leyden and Knipperdoling.

But the great scene of religious interest and the chief arena of church controversy and contention during this period was Scotland, where a keen conflict was waged, not by the church united against dissenterism, but by one great division of the church against another, and the result of which was not the mere formation of a new sect, but the rending of the church itself in twain. We allude to the Disruption, not only the most important event in the whole history of the Church of Scotland since the days of Knox and Melville, but fraught with consequences yet undeveloped to Christendom at large, as a great trial and experiment upon the connection of church and state, and the expediency of church establishments in general. To this startling and unexpected issue the long conflict that had been waged in Scotland against church patronage since the time of the union was to come at last, and the persistency of the Scottish character, after nearly a century and a half of disregarded opposition and protest, to be finally and fully vindicated.

Since the commencement of the present century, a visible change had begun in the Scottish church, which had gone on during the whole of the preceding period. It was the rise of the Evangelical party, with which the sentiments of the bulk of the people had been so long identified, and the depression of their opponents, the Moderates. And to this change the progress of events had naturally tended. That revival of liberal opinions which formed the great characteristic of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, was felt in the church as well as the state, and the people had become as indisposed to clerical, as they were to royal and political domination. They had also found that they could make their voice heard not only in the choice of their political, but their spiritual rulers and guides. Another cause, and connected with the preceding, was the high talent and energy of the new leaders of the popular party; and in such men as Sir Henry Moncrieff, Dr. Andrew Thomson, and Dr. Chalmers, their claims were not likely to be either silenced or disregarded. A third cause was to be found in the acquiescence of the Moderates themselves to the new state of things, who either from choice or necessity yielded to the current which they could no longer hope to resist. Not only was their opposition to the doctrines of evangelism less decided, but in many cases their most distinguished adherents became the advocates of those religious principles which their predecessors had been wont to oppose. In this manner the warfare against the Moderate

party was no longer a controversy in behalf of Arminian or even Arian principles, but a contest for a higher style of orthodoxy, and a more constitutional system of ecclesiastical government.

While the Evangelical party had thus grown so powerful that at the commencement of this period they could almost counterpoise their opponents, there were new agencies at hand by the operation of which their strength and efficiency were greatly augmented. One of these was the passing of the reform bill, which, by the recognition it gave to the popular choice in the right of government, was certain to give an impulse to that republican element which forms so essential a part of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. By this sweeping measure such a general spirit of inquiry was awakened, that even in remote Scotland, and amidst its ecclesiastical polity, hitherto so little regarded in high places, popular abuses could no longer hope to escape detection, or a parliamentary indifference to the popular will be safely continued. Another source of strength was derived from the conflict of dissenterism against the Established church, which was waged in Scotland with greater ardour, and more decisive results, than those which had distinguished the same agitation in England. Animated by a consciousness of their strength, and by the new spirit that had been awakened against public grievances, the seceders of Scotland hoped that the time had come for the overthrow of the Established church, and the substitution of a clergy wholly supported by the voluntary benevolence, as well as elected by the choice of the people. This was called the Voluntary Controversy, which commenced in 1831, and reached its height in the following year. The chief arguments of the dissenters were derived from the condition of the church as it had lately existed under the ascendancy of Moderatism—a fertile store-house of weapons fitted for their purpose—and the case which it enabled them to make out bore a formidable appearance in behalf of their claims, and against the church establishment. It happened also from such a mode of warfare, that the Moderates were compelled to be silent—they could not deny the evidence of facts, and the natural consequences that were deduced from them. In this emergency, the Evangelical party of the church came forward and maintained the brunt of the controversy; and this they did successfully, by showing that these evils were accidental abuses, not inevitable consequences. They took their ground upon the principles of the church itself, as they were formulated by its standards before Moderatism was heard of; and in this position, which they could assume with a good grace, the perilous attack of dissenterism was met and repelled.

It was felt, however, by the Evangelical party, that however pleasant such a victory might be, the proper end had not yet been attained; and that so long as the evils complained of were continued, the opposition to church establishments was liable to be renewed. And first of these was patronage, in which Scottish dissenterism itself had not only founded its strongest argument, but from which it had derived its very existence. It was of this evil, and the disregard of the people's choice, that the popular party had complained, and for its amelioration at least, if not its entire removal, the Voluntary controversy had been a very urgent warning. This was now to be the great subject at issue, and while the conflict of the church against the enemy from without was at its height, the internal conflict commenced which was to go on without a pause, until it ended in a final DISRUPTION. It was at the General Assembly of 1832, that this new beginning was made, by overtures from three synods and eight presbyteries, to the following effect:—"That whereas the practice of church courts for many years had reduced the call to a mere formality; and whereas this practice has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the people of Scotland from the Established church; it is overtured, that such measures as may be deemed necessary be adopted, in order to restore the call to its constitutional and salutary efficiency." But here the Moderate party took the alarm, and the proposal was rejected by a majority of forty-two. At the next year's Assembly, forty-five similar overtures were presented on the subject of calls, an increase of numbers that compelled attention; and a long debate followed on the subject, in which it was clearly shown that the right of the people to the choice of a minister was established by the original constitution and laws of the church, and that no pastor should be intruded upon them contrary to their will. Upon the subject of these overtures two motions were brought forward. The first was by Dr. Chalmers, in which he proposed that efficacy should be given to the call of a minister, by declaring that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families, who were resident in the parish and communicants, expressed with or without the assignment of reasons, should be sufficient to set the presentee aside, unless it was clearly established that this dissent was founded in corrupt and malicious combination, or not in any personal objection to his ministerial gifts and qualifications, either in general, or with regard to that particular parish. The other motion, which was by Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, proposed that it should be competent for the heads of families to present their objections to the presbytery; that the presbytery should consider these objections,

and if they judged them unfounded, or originating from causeless prejudices, should proceed to the settlement of the presentee; but if they judged them well founded, that they should reject the presentation. This last motion, which gave to a majority, or even the whole parish, no greater right than had belonged to any individual, was carried by a majority of 149 to 137. It was significant, however, that this majority, so small in itself, was obtained chiefly through the laic portion of the Assembly, as there was a majority of twenty ministers in favour of the motion of Dr. Chalmers.

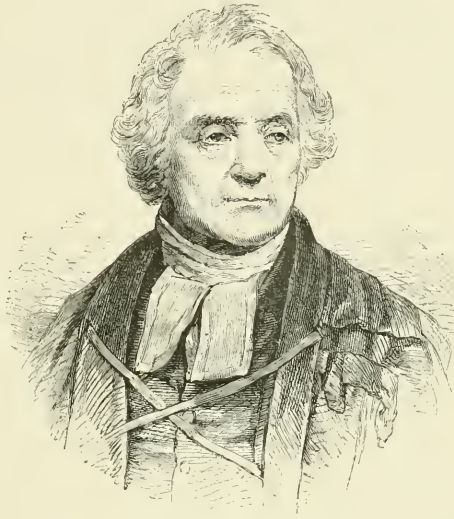
All being thus prepared for a successful aggression upon the law of patronage, the subject was again introduced at the Assembly of 1834. The public interest upon the question had been excited in no ordinary degree: it was the reform bill of the Scottish church; and upon its passing, not only the tranquillity of the nation, but the permanence of its ecclesiastical establishment depended. The 350 members of which this great representative meeting of the national church consisted, had its usual proportion of the lay element in its ruling elders, who were in number to the clerical as four to five; and as the Moderate and Evangelical parties were now nearly, if not altogether balanced, while every single vote was of importance, each member was at his post, and the Tron Church, Edinburgh, in which the meeting assembled, was thronged with anxious spectators. The motion, which was made by Lord Moncrieff, son of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, the late leader of the Evangelical party in the church, was substantially the same as that of Dr. Chalmers in the preceding year, and was to the following effect:—"That the General Assembly having maturely considered the overtures, do declare that it is a fundamental law of the church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and that in order to carry this principle into full effect, the presbyteries of the church shall be instructed that if, at the moderating in of a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned: but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement, according to the rules of the church: and further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove, as aforesaid, who

shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation: and resolve that a committee be appointed to report to an interim diet of the Assembly, in what manner, and by what particular measures, this declaration and instruction may be best carried into full operation." Such was the amount of modification that was sought in the law of patronage. It was merely a vindication of the old law established in the standards, and illustrated in the history of the Church of Scotland, that "no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people." But was the church competent in itself to enact a law by which patronage was made to depend upon the will of the people, and its presentations to be only available when confirmed by the popular acceptance? This was admitted even by the Moderates themselves, and the right was clearly explained by Lord Moncrieff in the speech with which he prefaced his motion:—"I want no more," said this accomplished master in civil and ecclesiastical Scottish law—

"I want no more than what is contained in the act of 1690, qualified as it is by the act of Queen Anne, and the laws of the church by which that act is ordered to be carried into effect. The act of 1690 gave the election to the elders and heritors being Protestants. But did it rest there? No. It goes on to assert the powers of the church in a material point, ordaining that the heritors and elders are to propose the person to the congregation, and if they disapprove of him, the reasons are to be given in to the presbytery, by whose determination the collation of the minister is to be completed. The act of Queen Anne in 1712 repeals this act only so far as relates to the presentation of the minister by the elders and heritors; it alters nothing as to the manner in which the individual is to be presented to the congregation, and it is still in force on this point. Was it not recognized by the act of Assembly in 1736 and 1782? and is it not recognized in the con-

stant practice of our presbyteries sending the individual to the congregation to preach before them?" The debate preceding the settlement of this important question lasted from eleven o'clock in the forenoon till eleven at night, and it ended in the success of Lord Moncrieff's motion by a majority of 184 to 138. Thus was the veto established as the law of the Church of Scotland.

This recognition of a great popular right, which had been so long and so vainly demanded, was not the only triumph obtained by the Evangelical party. In the preceding year the Moderates themselves had recognized the churches erected and partly endowed by parliament as parochial charges, by investing their ministers with parochial authority, and the right to a seat in church courts. These privileges, which were granted to the churches lately established in the more destitute districts, and especially in the Highlands, had at the same time been sought for the chapels of ease, but this demand the Moderates rejected. These chapels had been erected by the congregations themselves, who also possessed the right of electing their own pastors; and it was thought that their admission into church courts would strengthen the popular



REV. DR. CHALMERS.
From a portrait by John Faed, R.S.A.

party, more especially as a great increase of such chapels was confidently anticipated. The demand was renewed at the Assembly of 1834, and with greater effect. It was evident indeed that the new plan of church extension, at the head of which was Dr. Chalmers, needed such encouragement and support: for while six hundred dissenting chapels had been erected in Scotland during the course of a century, only sixty-three chapels of ease in connection with the Establishment had been erected, whose congregations had no sessional courts or share in the government of the church. The anomalous position of such ministers in a church of Presbyterian parity, and of congregations thus excluded from the common rights of a worshipping people, together with the urgent need of more churches, were so strongly enforced, that the admission of chapels of ease to the status of parish churches was decreed by a large majority of 152 to 103. The beneficial effects of this

measure were quickly manifested by the result. In one year alone, after the passing of the act of Assembly, sixty-four new churches were built or in the course of erection, being one more than the number that had been raised during the whole of the previous century.

The veto act was now established; but would its merely negative character be sufficient to neutralize a positive evil? And when it came into exercise, would the patrons themselves be ready to submit to the authority by which it had been passed? These inevitable questions were soon to be answered in a very unwelcome fashion. In 1834, the minister of Auchterarder, a parish in the south of Perthshire, died, and Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate of the church, was presented to the living by the Earl of Kinnoull, its patron. But where was the parochial call, the most essential passport of a presentee? It was forthcoming indeed, but signed by no more persons than the earl's factor and two individuals, who had appended their names to the document commencing with, "We, the heritors, elders, heads of families, of the parish of Auchterarder"—which contained a population of three thousand souls! This would have been sufficient in the preceding century, especially if backed by a troop of dragoons; but these times had passed away, and this mere verbalism of a call was opposed by 287 out of 330 church members, who subscribed their dissent to Mr. Young's admission as their pastor. Thus, by the new law he was decisively vetoed, and the presbytery, as in duty bound, rejected the presentation. But Mr. Young appealed to the synod; and on this higher court confirming the sentence of the presbytery, he appealed to the last and highest of all, the General Assembly. Here also the rejection, after being carefully considered, was confirmed by a large majority, and the presbytery of Auchterarder, thus justified, refused to induct the presentee. This ought to have been conclusive, more especially as by the veto-law, and during the whole course of these church-court trials, the civil rights of the rejected preacher to the manse, glebe, and stipend were recognized, independently of his discharge of the functions of a minister, so that he could claim them let whosoever might be elected as the pastor of Auchterarder. But this was an alternative the shame of which was too much for patronage to endure—and herein was felt the first great difficulty of the veto-law: like other half measures, it only complicated the evils which it had been designed to remove. The earl and his protégé removed their case to the Court of Session, thus acknowledging the right of a merely civil tribunal to enforce a preacher's admission into the ministerial office. Upon this monstrous footing indeed the decision of the court was not

placed, although it virtually came to that conclusion; for it decreed that the presbytery of Auchterarder, by refusing to induct Mr. Young, had acted to the harm of the pursuers, and contrary to their duty and to certain statutes, and especially to the act of Queen Anne confirming the rights of patronage. They were not to be *forced* to invest him with the ministerial office, but only punished for refusing to do so. This decision was given in March, 1838, on the strength of which Mr. Young's law agent demanded that his client should be taken on trials for his induction; and on the refusal of the presbytery of Auchterarder to comply, he threatened its members with a prosecution for pecuniary damages. As civil pains and penalties thus impended over the presbytery, it was commissioned by the General Assembly to appeal to the House of Lords; but there, after a long discussion, the sentence of the Court of Session was confirmed. On receiving this decision, the General Assembly in 1839 decreed, by a majority of 204 to 155, that no further opposition should be given by the Auchterarder presbytery to the claims of Mr. Young to the emoluments of the benefice, but also, that the principle of non-intrusion as a fundamental principle of the Church of Scotland should not be abandoned or compromised. It was likewise resolved that, as by carrying this principle into effect it now appeared that the legal sustentation of the ministry may be suspended, and as they were desirous of avoiding any collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, a committee should be appointed, for the purpose of considering in what way the privileges of the national Establishment and the harmony between church and state may remain unimpaired: with instructions to confer with the government of the country if they shall see cause.

This case of Auchterarder was only the commencement of the warfare, and a new and still more severe trial of the veto-law was to succeed at Lethendy. The minister of this parish being old, infirm, and unfit for duty, Mr. Clark was appointed by the crown his assistant and successor: but when he was about to be ordained, a majority of the male heads of the congregation protested against his appointment, in consequence of which it was set aside in terms of the veto act. The old minister died, and the crown issued a new presentation in favour of Mr. Kessen, who was acceptable to the people. Encouraged however by the decision of the Auchterarder case, Mr. Clark obtained from the Court of Session an interdict against the appointment of Mr. Kessen; but this the presbytery rejected as illegal, and fortified by the authority of the General Assembly, they ordained Mr. Kessen on the 13th

of September, 1838. In consequence of this, Mr. Clark again appealed to the Court of Session, who pronounced the presbytery guilty of breaking the interdict, and summoned its members to their bar. They went accordingly, and were there punished with a severe rebuke, and warned that their next offence of the same kind would be visited with a still heavier penalty.

The next trial which the veto had to encounter was that of Marnoch. This parish having become vacant in 1837, Mr. Edwards, who had been the minister's assistant for three years, received a presentation from the patron; but he had been so unacceptable to the parish, that when his call was presented, it was signed by only one parishioner who was entitled to vote, and the names of three heritors who signed by proxy; while against his admission was a protest subscribed by 261 heads of families, out of a roll of 300 communicants. In spite of this rejection, Mr. Edwards insisted upon his claim, and in this case he had the presbytery of Strathbogie to second him, who brought a charge of intriguing and caballing on the part of the parishioners of Marnoch before the synod of Moray; but the synod condemned the conduct of the presbytery as illegal, and ordered them to find the presentee disqualified by the rejection of the people for being minister of Marnoch. The presbytery then appealed to the General Assembly in 1838, on the plea that they only wished to interpose the highest authority of the church to justify their rejection of the presentee; upon which the assembly reviewed their previous proceedings, and authorized them to reject Mr. Edwards. He was set aside accordingly, and a new presentation was given by the patrons in favour of Mr. David Henry. But with the whole church thus against him, Mr. Edwards would not yet yield: he appealed to the Court of Session, and obtained from it a decision interdicting Mr. Henry from presenting himself to the presbytery for ordination, and the presbytery from proceeding to his induction. Encouraged by this powerful aid, the presbytery of Strathbogie resumed its opposition, by a vote for delaying proceedings until the question should be legally decided; against which decision an Evangelical minority protested, and appealed to the synod, by whom the case was referred to the final decision of the next General Assembly. But confident in the protection of the civil power the presbytery would not await the decision of the highest church court, and for their contumacy, the recusant ministers, seven in number, were suspended from their clerical office by an authoritative sentence of the Assembly's commission. Against this sentence the ministers appealed to the Court of Session, requesting them

to remove it, and prevent the verdict from being published in their parishes, or the ministers of the Assembly from preaching in their churches, churchyards, or school-houses; but although much of this was beyond the power of a civil court, it did what it could to the utmost—it barred the churches, churchyards, and school-houses against the entrance of the ministers commissioned by the Assembly, so that they were obliged to announce its sentence of suspension, and preach to the people in the open air. But the seven still continued in the discharge of their clerical offices; and not content with this defiance of the church in its collective capacity, they proceeded to crown their rebellion by admitting the rejected presentee to the ministerial charge of Marnoch. They accordingly took Mr. Edwards on trials, found him duly qualified, and on the 21st of January, 1841, proceeded to his induction. The whole nation was astounded at their hardihood, and none more than the parishioners of Marnoch, who could scarcely believe the testimony of their senses when they saw the presbytery assembled in the church for ordination, notwithstanding their protest, and the high authority with which it was corroborated. Having seen that this was a reality, they arose and departed, leaving the strangers who had come from a distance as the only witnesses of those solemn services by which their souls were consigned to the care of a stranger whom they had so expressly rejected, and whose voice they would not hear.

The church had now arrived at a crisis where to pause or recede was equally impossible; and, had it been united, its advance would have been irresistible. But it was still a divided body, and the party so long in the ascendancy and so lately held in check, were beginning to take courage in the prospect of state support, and prepare for a fresh encounter, with the civil power for their ally. When the Assembly's commission in March, therefore, passed a vote of sympathy with the parishioners of Marnoch, and when the Assembly itself in May, 1841, decreed a sentence of deposition upon the seven Strathbogie ministers, rescinded the settlement of Mr. Edwards, and ordered the presbytery to proceed with the induction of Mr. Henry, the Moderate party rallied for fresh opposition. Invoking the state to aid and support them, and representing the opposite party as rebels, they identified themselves with the deposed martyrs of Strathbogie, whom they still recognized as ministers, and encouraged to hold out by preaching in their pulpits and assisting them in their clerical public duties. And by which of these parties was the Church of Scotland represented? Statesmen in London were at a loss to decide, and even their Scottish

advisers were in many instances bewildered. To enlighten them on this question a public manifestation was necessary; and accordingly an extraordinary meeting was held in the West Kirk of Edinburgh on the 25th of August, which was attended by 1200 ministers and elders, who unanimously passed a series of resolutions asserting the freedom of the church from secular control, and maintaining the principle of non-intrusion. This, it might be thought, was evidence enough of the prevailing spirit of the church, but unfortunately it failed to convince; and when a second appeal was made to the House of Lords upon the case of Auchterarder, in consequence of the Court of Session having decreed an action against the presbytery for refusing to ordain Mr. Young, the sentence was confirmed by the lords. This final decision was conclusive in every such case where nothing opposed the imposition of a minister upon a parish except his rejection by the people. It was also decided by the House of Peers as an incontrovertible principle, that all church courts, even in their spiritual functions, were subject to the coercion of the civil magistrate.

By this summary process the great controversy of the Scottish church for nearly three centuries was settled at once, and by a downright blow. But would the blow be submissively received? Would no reaction follow? The history of Scotland scarcely warranted such an illogical conclusion. Even at the best such a secession must ensue as would rend the church in twain, and make it a matter of indifference to which portion of the fragments the title of an Establishment should be awarded. Something, however, it was still necessary to do in order to avert such a national calamity; and accordingly a circular was issued by thirty-two of the oldest and most respected ministers of the church, inviting their brethren from every part of Scotland to a conference which was to be held upon the subject at Edinburgh. In reference to the late decision of the lords, the invitation stated: "Without entering into the legal merits or demerits of the judgment, its undoubted effect is to place us in a position where we may represent, with all deference to the legislature, that the specific statute rested on by the civil court has now for the first time, and in opposition to all former opinions, been so construed as to place it in direct conflict with the constitution unalterably secured to the national church of this country. We can, therefore, present this alternative to the legislature, and crave their own decision upon it—Whether they will destroy the constitution of the church or remodel this particular statute: and, so long as we have the faith of treaties and of coronation oaths for our securities, we may hope that the legislature will yet

respect the privileges assigned sacredly and inviolably to our church, and which, both at the Revolution and at the union of the kingdoms, were declared to belong to her without any alteration for ever." This meeting, known as the Convocation, was held in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, 1842, and was attended by 465 ministers. The sittings were continued for a week, and the discussions were accompanied with careful deliberation and with devotional services. It was felt that the decisions of the civil courts were subversive of the constitution of the church, and, unless a remedy was devised, must end in its destruction. But what, in such a case, would be the most efficient remedy? and what would be their duty if no such remedy was granted? A fresh "non-intrusion" measure was suggested, but speedily negated as hopeless, while a holding-on to the Establishment under such repeated injuries would only provoke fresh aggressions that might end in a popular revolution. The gentler as well as safer course was to retire from an Establishment in which they could no longer remain with the approval of their own consciences and in consistency with their past professions. This conclusion was intimated in two series of resolutions. By the first it was declared that the second judgment given by the lords in the Auchterarder case was subversive of all spiritual jurisdiction and fatal to the very existence of church government. By the second series it was declared to be the duty of the church to terminate its connection with the state should no redress be granted. Having thus decisively committed themselves upon the issue, the ministers retired to their homes and prepared themselves for the worst.

It was no wonder if these decisions were sufficiently perplexing to our statesmen, presenting as they did an alternative which statesmen have seldom to encounter. It was something new for them to be told that so large a body of churchmen, after so long a period of deliberation, had consented to renounce all the proverbial comforts of their position rather than recede from their principles; and they thought that when it reached the abandonment of manse, glebe, and stipend, the *argumentum ad crumenam* would prevail. In this belief they were fortified by representations from Edinburgh, which assured them that not forty, perhaps not even twenty of these clergymen would retire, when the crisis actually arrived. No hope of redress was therefore held out; and the day for the meeting of the General Assembly arrived, on which the protesters must redeem their pledges. It was the 18th of May, 1843—a day memorable in modern Scottish history: and St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, in which the Assembly was held, was filled with a crowd of anxious spectators. After

the usual preliminaries were finished, and when the business of the house should have commenced, the Rev. Dr. Welsh, the moderator of the Assembly, stood up to address the lord-commissioner. But it was only to announce the final resolution of himself and his brethren, and to bid the Assembly a last farewell. "According to the usual form of procedure," he said, "this is the time for making up the roll; but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges—proceedings which have been sanctioned by her majesty's government, and by the legislature of the country; and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between church and state in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons which have led me to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read." He then read the protest which had been prepared and sanctioned three days previously at a meeting of the brethren, and at the close, he laid it upon the table before the clerk of the Assembly, bowed to the lord-commissioner, and retired. This final movement was the signal of departure, and a long train followed composed of city and country ministers, men of the highest distinction for worth and talent, and holding some of the best livings of the church and the universities; and of those ruling elders, the lay element of the Scottish ecclesiastical government, who had resisted every aggression of the state upon the rights of the church until resistance was unavailing. The promise was fulfilled; the dreaded event had taken place; and those who remained in the half-emptied building gazed at the dissolving view as if yet only half assured of its reality. Nor was the popular feeling out of doors less lively, as soon as the long train appeared, and marched silently and slowly downward to the distant hall which had been hastily prepared to receive them in the anticipation of such a departure. From the crowded street, from the crowded windows and housetops, a thunder-peal of approbation welcomed them, while many strong men sobbed, or turned aside under feelings too big for utterance. The ministers who had thus left their all behind them were the chosen and cherished of the people; they had vindicated their high characters by the voluntary endurance of a penalty tantamount in modern ecclesiastical reckoning to that of martyrdom itself; and now, as homeless and bereaved men, they were going forth to the wide world ignorant as yet of what might await them. This, then, was in very deed

the Disruption!—a great ecclesiastical revolution which a grievance of two centuries had produced at last. And yet, unlike other great national changes, in which the popular feeling is wound up to the uttermost, it was a revolution at the climax of which not a blow was struck, not a threat uttered. But not the less was it pregnant with most momentous consequences, both to the present age and to generations yet unborn. It was a great silent movement, such as religious principle alone could have produced, and such a country as Scotland have exhibited.

As a new General Assembly was to be held, and a new church constituted by those who had forsaken the old, the departing members repaired to the appointed place at the Canonmills, a suburb lying at the foot of the hill at the northern extremity of Edinburgh. The building which received them was a disused gas-work that had been erected upon the model of a Moorish palace or *hambra*, and in its chief hall 3000 expecting spectators were already assembled to welcome them. A new moderator of the Assembly was to be elected, and Dr. Chalmers, the father of the movement, was appropriately called to the chair; new church office-bearers were to be appointed, which was done with equal unanimity; and the usual religious solemnities were observed, and the business of the Assembly commenced, as if each member had already found his place after nothing more than a momentary interruption. At the opening speech of the venerable moderator, after a short history of the claims of the church and their rejection by the legislature, Dr. Chalmers thus continued:—"We now make a higher appeal from our constitution, which has been disregarded, to our conscience, which tells us that the ecclesiastical ought not to be subjected to the civil power in things spiritual. We are therefore compelled, though with great reluctance and deep sorrow of heart, to quit the advantages of the British establishment, because she has fallen from her original principles, in the hope that we shall be suffered to prosecute our labours in peace on the ground of British toleration. These are the principles that have occasioned the movements of this day, and brought us together on the present occasion. And now, reverend fathers and brethren, it is well that you should have been strengthened by your Master in heaven to make the surrender you have done of everything that is dear to nature, casting aside all your earthly dependence rather than offend conscience, incur the guilt of sinful compliance by thwarting your own sense of duty, and run counter to the Bible, our great church directory and statute-book. It is well that you have made for the present a clear escape from this condemnation, and that in the issue of the contest between a

sacrifice of principle and a sacrifice of your worldly possessions you have resolved upon the latter; and while, to the eye of some, you are without a provision and a home, embarked on a wide sea of uncertainty, save that great and generous certainty which is apprehended by the eye of faith, that God reigneth, and that he will not forsake the families of the faithful. We read in the Scriptures, and I believe it will be found true in the history and experience of God's people, that there is a certain light, and joyfulness, and elevation of spirit consequent upon a moral achievement such as this. There is a certain felt triumph, like that of victory after conflict, attending upon a practical vindication which conscience has made of her own supremacy when she has been plied by many and strong temptations to degrade or to dethrone her. Apart from Christianity altogether, there has been realized a joyfulness of heart, a proud swelling of conscious integrity, when a conquest has been effected by the higher over the inferior powers of our nature; and so among Christians too, there is a legitimate glorying, as when the disciples of old gloried in the midst of their tribulations, when the Spirit of glory and of God rested on them, when they were made partakers of the divine nature and escaped the corruption that is in the world, or as when the apostle Paul rejoiced in the testimony of his conscience." The venerable and eloquent speaker did not forget that this was also an opportunity for warning, and therefore he solemnly added—"But let us not forget in the midst of this rejoicing the deep humility that pervades their songs of exultation—the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness: and then courage, inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which were to be obtained out of His fulness who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and, in the transition we are making, it becomes us to reflect on such sentiments as these:—'Not me, but the grace of God in me,' and 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.'"¹

Thus was the Free Church of Scotland constituted, and its first General Assembly held. The sittings continued from the 18th to the 30th of May, and during this period a great variety and amount of business was transacted. And foremost of these was the deed of demission, by which the retiring clergymen announced their abandonment of the Established church and the

livings they held in it, which was subscribed by 474 ministers. A new machinery was needed for instant action, involving the erection of churches and schools, the sustentation of ministers and teachers, the support of missions at home and abroad—for all those schemes of evangelization, instruction, and active benevolence of which the ministers of the Free church, while in connection with the Establishment, had been the principal founders and supporters. But never had Scottish ardour been so tempered with calculation and prudence as upon the present trying occasion. Instead of waiting and hoping to the last, and thus incurring the risk of being taken at unawares, the rejection of their demands by the state and the necessity of a separation had already been anticipated, and every preparation made for such an event, so that when it arrived, it by no means came upon them unprovided. Even before its arrival, 687 associations had been formed throughout the country, and by their exertions in raising funds, should a disruption be found necessary, £232,347 had been raised within two months, which, by the contributions that afterwards arrived from London, Ireland, and America, was raised to £366,719. There was thus a fund awaiting it, both for present emergencies and future action, of which the Free church could avail itself at the outset.

In these associations and these contributions, the unmistakeable sympathies of the people had been announced, and the course they were likely to pursue, by which the ecclesiastical disruption should become a great national movement. In almost every case, the bulk of the congregation followed the retiring minister; the Established churches over the land were suddenly half-emptied; and in some of the more remote counties, such as Ross and Sutherland, the exodus was so complete, that little more was left of the old order of things than the ministers themselves, with their door-keepers and church-officers and a few conservative heritors. But even more remarkable than the disruption among the clerical order at home, were the effects of it among the Scottish missionaries abroad—men whose spheres of action had been assigned, and means of labour furnished by that revived evangelical spirit of which this great movement was the result. However remote from the seat of action, they had watched every proceeding with the most intense sympathy; and as soon as tidings of the crisis reached them, they formally abandoned their connection with the Establishment, and joined the Free Church of Scotland. This, too, was done so promptly, so spontaneously, and universally, notwithstanding their separation from each other, and lack of the means of mutual concert, as showed their convictions upon

¹ Buchanan's *History of the Ten Years' Conflict*, vol. ii. chap. xiv. xv.; Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland*; *Annual Register*, 1843; Martineau's *History of the Last Thirty Years*, *Disruption Memorials*, &c.

which side the right lay, and how well prepared they were to follow it.

So signal a commencement took the whole British public by surprise. But it was not to them alone that the sensation was confined. Into every country where the report went forth, there was a feeling of astonishment not unmingled with sympathy and respect. They had read of the sacrifices and struggles at the Reformation, when princes abandoned their thrones, and communities perilled their national liberties, rather than abandon the cause of religion, and do violence to their consciences. But so long a reign of political utilitarianism had succeeded, that these sacrifices had been deemed the characteristics of an age that had for ever passed away—exploits that exclusively belonged to a romantic period of the world's history, and which men might read of, but could never hope to see again. But, lo! that season had returned; even the nineteenth century could furnish an army of martyrs and confessors; and thoughtful inquiring men, whom the tidings had roused in different continental countries, repaired to Scotland that they might witness the phenomenon with their own bodily eyes, and record it in their books. But all this only made the enemies of the Disruption more indignant, and they declared that it was nothing more than a spasmodic throe that would speedily be followed by utter prostration. In spite, however, of their angry predictions, the first effort was but the commencement of a permanent habit, and the Free church still exists as a solid reality. An idea also of its steady increase may be formed from the fact, that it now possesses in Scotland 875 places of worship and numbers 846 ordained ministers, independently of those congregations which it has in England and Ireland, on the Continent and in the colonies. It has two colleges, one at Edinburgh and another at Glasgow, besides a theological hall in Aberdeen, at which 194 students are educated for the ministry. It has also a home mission, with an annual revenue now nearly amounting to £10,000, by which the most benighted of our districts are pervaded with religious instruction, and in the working of which the missionary students are trained for the practical duties of the ministry. And even reduced to the secular but convincing criterion of pounds, shillings, and pence, the present condition of the Free church not only indicates the zeal and liberality of the people, but the stability of the cause. The following general abstract, showing the sums raised for the various objects of the Free Church of Scotland for the year from 31st March, 1858, to 31st March, 1859, is more illustrative of the subject than any amount of disquisition:—

Sustentation Fund, ...	£110,435 7 6
Building Fund, ...	41,179 2 0½
Congregational Fund, ...	94,481 19 6
Missions and Education, ...	55,896 11 0
Miscellaneous, ...	41,384 12 10
Total, ...	£343,377 12 10½

From the foregoing sketch of the history of religion in Britain during these thirty years, it will be distinctly seen that the age of apathy and indifference had expired; that the struggle of a new and better life had commenced; and that these convulsive efforts, painful though they might be, were proofs of vitality, and promises of a happy result. The cold dull repose of the valley of death had ended, and the moving of the dry bones was the needful prelude to the rising up of a living multitude. But while this stir was necessarily accompanied with much contradiction and contention, there was one great and holy object in which all sects harmonized, and upon the work of which they all heartily co-operated. It was that of missionary enterprise, which, having commenced with the present century, had been going on since the close of the preceding period with fresh impulses and a wider application. But the time has not yet arrived for writing the history of these missions, and we can only afford for them a passing notice. In England the following were the principal missionary institutions that arose during the present period, with the year of their establishment, and their field of operation:—

- 1840. Welsh Foreign Missionary Society—India.
- 1844. The (Free) Presbyterian Church in England—China.
- 1844. The Patagonian Missionary Society—Patagonia and South America.
- 1845. The Naval Missionary Society for the Loo Choo Islands.
- 1850. The Chinese Evangelization Society.

In Scotland, the following missionary societies were originated, viz.:—

- 1835. The United Presbyterian Synod Missionary Society—West Indies, West Africa, and Caffraria.
- 1842. The Reformed Presbyterian Synod—New Hebrides
- 1843. The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland—India, Caffraria.
- 1843. Home Mission of the Free Church.

In Ireland—

- 1840. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland—India.¹

The united expenditure of the British missionary societies averages nearly or about £600,000 per annum, an amount which is freely and cheerfully paid through the annual public appeal to British benevolence. This cordial response on the part of the Christian public is the more to be admired, when we take into account the difficulties and discouragements with which missionary enterprise has hitherto been attended, and

¹ Dr. Brown's *History of Missions*; Annual Missionary Reports.

the results as yet apparently so inadequate to such a numerous agency and liberal expenditure. But it is a trial of Christian faith; and it is patiently endured, in the full belief that the regeneration of the world is certain, however long delayed or obstinately resisted. Years of waiting and watching are not thought too much to be bestowed in fertilizing the desert, and rearing anew the cedars of Lebanon. We doubt not that the twentieth century will initiate a glorious missionary history to which the nineteenth was only a preparative.

While the missionary cause has been thus so active, its great instrument of action—the Bible—has accompanied all its movements, so that while no country has been too barbarous or remote for a Christian mission, no language has been deemed too rude or barren as a vehicle for Christian instruction. There is scarcely, therefore, a language or a dialect into which the Scripture has not been translated, or region into which it has not been introduced. In this good work the British and Foreign Bible Society has attained a pre-eminence worthy of the public confidence it has secured, and the vast machinery it has been able to put in motion; and to give an idea of the latter, it is enough to state that, while it has been the parent of many others, there are between 8000 and 9000 auxiliary societies belonging to it, which are extended like a net-work over Great Britain and Ireland, among our colonies, and in foreign countries.

While the wants of the heathen have thus been so amply cared for, by making a copy of the Bible accessible, and its language intelligible to all, the same solicitude has been manifested for the ignorant of our own country. It was soon felt that for every cottage to have a Bible, and every cot-

tager to be able to read it, was a hopeless wish, so long as the book itself was made so costly that the poor would not purchase it, or at least could not, without a heavy sacrifice. An agitation for cheap Bibles was the consequence, and it commenced in Scotland in 1839, when the profitable monopoly of the queen's printers to print the Bible had expired. The renewal of their patent was successfully resisted, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Adam Thomson of Coldstream, and by a decree of parliament a board was established in Scotland for granting licenses to print the authorized versions of the Scriptures. The effect of this has been, that the Bible, formerly one of the dearest, is now one of the cheapest books in circulation. In England, indeed, the monopoly of printing the Bible still belongs to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to her majesty's printer for England; but in consequence of a controversy on the subject in 1840-1, the prices of Bibles and Testaments have been so greatly reduced as to place them within the reach of the poorest of the English community.

In this brief sketch of the history of religion from A.D. 1830 to the present day, we have only adverted to some of the leading points, and that, too, in a very scanty and cautious manner. But for this reluctance we are certain that the reflective reader will forgive us. Reminiscence and suggestion are what he chiefly demands when the subject has become so personal to himself; and to this modest limit we have endeavoured to confine our view, more especially as it is the history of action still going onward, and the result of which is still unknown. To our successors we bequeath the duty of recording its development.

CHAPTER XXIV.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM IV. (A.D. 1830), TO THE PRESENT TIME (1860).

Difficulties in the detail of Progress during the present period—Commercial position of Britain at the commencement of this period—Causes of her commercial pre-eminence—The cotton trade—Improvement in its manufactures—Extent of the cotton trade—Its effect in the increase of our manufacturing towns—Attempts to benefit our other manufactures at the expense of that of cotton—State of our linen and woollen manufactures—Our iron manufactures—Coal used instead of wood in the smelting of iron—Invention of the hot-blast—The coal trade of Britain—Relative money value of our exports and imports—Shipping and men employed in them—The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851—Preliminary minor exhibitions—Universality of the invitation to the Industrial Exhibition of 1851—Erection of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park—Its opening on the 1st of May—Desire to perpetuate the plan of the Exhibition—Erection of the new Crystal Palace at Sydenham—Its various collections—Its elevating, intellectual, and industrial tendencies—Improvement in the application of steam power—Desire to extend locomotion by steam to land as well as sea conveyance—The first experiments in land travelling by steam—The Stephenson—The Liverpool and Manchester railway—The first locomotive employed on it—Rapid multiplication of railways—The railway mania—Its effects—Railway travelling and its profits—Its dangers shown at its commencement—Parliamentary enactments for the safety of railway travelling—Highways and canals partially superseded by the railway—Increase of the means of comfortable living effected by industrial improvements—Statistics of this increase as compared with former periods—The grain and cattle markets of Britain and their supplies—Necessary inequality in the distribution of this abundance—Continued increase in the numbers and destitution of the poor—Facilities of Britain in furnishing means for the unemployed—Our colonies, and their adaptation to every class—Increase of emigration to the colonies—Our Australian colonies—The gold discovery—Its attractions to emigration—Immense returns from the Australian gold fields—Their effects in the rapid growth of these colonies—Persons fitted to succeed as emigrants—Wonderful effects of emigration upon the Irish—Immense remittances made by them to their friends in Ireland—Condition of the lower classes in Britain during the present period—Their increasing numbers and deterioration—Causes of this increase—Defective education for the lower classes—Restrictions on the transfer and sale of land by the strictness of the law of entail—Consequent decrease of our independent yeomanry—Decrease of our small farmers—Disappearance of our open air field-sports and pastimes—Multiplication of rural ale-houses and civic haunts of dissipation—Statistical amount of pauperism during the present period—Gross immorality in its mode of life—Prevalence of infanticide—Criminal convictions—Comparative criminal statistics of 1817 and 1857—Interposition of government to the growth of crime—Remedies of social science applied to the lowest orders—The national vice of drunkenness—Its hold upon the lowest orders—Institution of temperance societies—Their beneficial effects—Remedies for the classes immediately above the lowest—Cheap publications—Their origin, character, and purpose—Their good effects on the working and middle classes—Improvement of public education—Normal schools—Associations for public improvement—Progress of science—Electricity—Invention of the electric telegraph—Extent of its operations—Its modes of communication—Electricity applied to the service of the fine arts—Invention of the art of electrotype—Photography—Its origin—Invention of the daguerreotype and calotype processes—Their improvements, application, and uses—Chemistry—Its extensive application—Its important uses in agriculture—Astronomy—Recent extension of astronomical discovery—Its discoveries applied to the improvement of navigation—Astronomical societies and observatories in Britain—Zeal of private students in the science—Lord Rosse's telescope—Star-clouds—Their perplexing character—Geology—Recently reduced to a science—Antagonistic theories of the earth by Hutton and Werner—Their followers, the Vulcanists and Neptunists—Smith's discoveries in the secondary rocks of England—Rapid improvement and extension in geological research—Practical application of the science—Geography—Revival of the attempt to find a north-west passage to India—Expeditions to the polar regions—Their discoveries and failures—Hopelessness of the attempt to discover the north-west passage—Explorations in Africa—The travellers Denham, Clapperton, Lander, &c.—Expedition to Negroland by Richardson, Overweg, and Barth—Communications between the Cape of Good Hope and the interior of Africa—Discoveries of Dr. Livingston—Expedition of Burton and Speke to the lake Tanganyika—Geographical discoveries of travellers in the interior of Australia—Discoveries in North America—Trigonometrical survey of the British Islands and India—Improvements in hydrography—Application of the improvements of science to the art of war—Its greater destructiveness—Probable results of the change—Exclusive cultivation of science during the last thirty years—Its effect upon literature—Present state of literature in Britain—Eminent writers of the last period who have been continued to the present—Authors in literature exclusively of the present period—Increase of female authorship—Predominance of novel-writing in the present day—Causes of this predominance—General character of our present novel-writing—Principal authors in this department—Female novelists—Periodical literature, magazines, and reviews—The newspaper—Influence of newspapers in the government of every country—Especial adaptation of the newspaper for Britain—Universal demand for it—Origin and history of newspaper writing in Britain—Restrictions imposed on newspapers by a government tax—Effects of these restrictions—Their removal—

Consequent multiplication of newspapers—Poetry—Its present scantiness among us contrasted with the previous abundance—Causes of this dearth—Our living poets—Predominance of the poetry of action over that of words—Tennyson—His principal poems—His successful attempt to revive the ancient romance in poetry—Resources afforded to modern literature by our public libraries—Libraries of the universities—Library of the British Museum—Its origin, growth, and contents—Its accommodations for general study—Public libraries of Scotland—Progress of the fine arts—Painting—Discouragements of historical painting in Britain—Promise given of its revival in the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament—Unsatisfactory result—Prevalence of *genre* painting in the British school of art—The pre-Raphaelite school of painting—Its effects in producing greater correctness—Present state of our national school of painting—Influence of photography on art—Means used for the improvement of the public taste—Picture collections thrown open to the public—The National Gallery—Sources of its accumulation—The Turner, Vernon, and Sheepshanks collections—The National Portrait Gallery—Its regulations and tendencies—The Hampton Court collection and Greenwich Naval Gallery—The Scottish National Gallery—Art-Unions—Their effect in cultivating a general taste for art—Establishment of schools of design—Necessity for their establishment—Their beneficial effect upon our manufactures—Progress of sculpture—Our public monuments—Progress of architecture—Imitative tendency of our architects—Progress of music—Attempts to popularize it—The Volunteer movement—Reviews in London and Edinburgh—Effects of the movement—Conclusion.



WE now approach the last portion of our task—the history of the progress of the living generation—with misgiving of heart and a reluctant step. For let the character and spirit of the record be what it may, a history of the present period cannot fail to disappoint and to offend. Every man has viewed the period for himself, and in relation to his own principles, interests, or prejudices; and amidst such a contrariety, each reader will find that something has been omitted, something exaggerated, something misrepresented. It was not thus when we dealt with past events and with the dead, or described a state of society in every way inferior to the condition of the present day. The sympathy that could be excited for departed worth, and the self-complacency that could be flattered by the superiority of the living over the dead, are, in this case, exchanged for the feelings of a present struggle, of which every one has a personal share and his peculiar point of observation. In such a difficulty, the utmost we can attempt is lightly to touch the more important points of the subject—to be suggestive rather than communicative—and content ourselves with pointing out the path to be trod, rather than attempt to lead the way, and be the *cicerone* of every stage of the journey. To this limited duty we are also necessarily confined by the magnitude and complexity of the subject, for which whole volumes, instead of a single chapter, are usually found insufficient.

When the present period in the history of national progress had arrived, Britain had fully realized the important character for which she was destined: by her commerce and manufactures she had become the metropolis of the world. To this high position her whole career for years and for ages had been pointing. Her insular situation, which gave her the command of the whole ocean for her highway; her fertile

soil, which served as a capital with which she could advance her mercantile successes or encounter their reverses; the national character of her people, in which the interfusion of several races was combined with a harmonious blending of their activity, industry, perseverance, and inventiveness—all these had been the natural preparations for a destiny of which Tyre, Carthage, Palmyra, Holland were but imperfect types. And all these advantages, so greatly surpassing whatever had been possessed by former commercial states, were crowned by the nature of her laws and the character of her government. The imposts of feudalism, the restrictions of monopolies, the various taxes which an earlier age had imposed upon industrial activity and enterprise, had one by one been removed, and at no time more than during the earlier part of the present period. But more than all these combined, was the inviolability of property, and the liberty of the subject, which formed the great characteristics of the British constitution. Men might traffic where they listed, and afterwards enjoy the fruits of their industry without check or interference. Mercantile communities might construct works and invest sums to any amount, of which the distant returns could only be realized by their heirs, without the dread that all might be swept away, by either those anarchical or despotic revolutions to which other governments were liable. The vine and fig-tree under which our commercial wealth so confidently reposed were not the growth of a night; and though the passing winds might shake their branches, they could not loosen their roots. Such was the commercial conviction of our country amidst those national changes upon the Continent, by which governments had been subverted and dynasties overturned; and in this confidence, an extent of traffic had been undertaken, and an amount of capital sunk, that will form a rich inheritance for future generations.

The chief article of all this manufacturing

industry, and commercial enterprise and wealth, is cotton, which being sent to this country in its original state, is fabricated into every kind of clothing which luxury or comfort can demand, and sent out to every part of the earth. An inquiry therefore into this great staple of our trade demands our first consideration.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the boundless wealth contained in this branch of traffic began to be surmised, and the national ingenuity, aided by the resources of science, was on the stretch to devise expedients by which the tedious processes of preparing cotton manufactures might be simplified and improved. The methods invented for converting the raw material into yarn, and weaving the yarn into webs of every colour, texture, and variety, are among the noblest specimens of human ingenuity; and their reward is exhibited in the statistics of our cotton trade, as compared with its nature and results in former periods. This change has especially been perceptible since the year 1814. It was then that the remarkable fall commenced which has taken place in the price of cotton goods in general. Of this change it is enough to state, that, whereas in 1814, 100 yards of calico would cost 16s. 6d., 650 yards can now be had for 20s. 6d. The cause of this change has been partly owing to the great fall in the price of the material, but the main cause is to be found in the immense multiplication and improvement of our machinery. The same cause, instead of diminishing, has only proportionably increased the value of this department of our commerce, by extending the use of our cotton fabrics not only among the women of Britain, but over the whole world. This advantage, also, we are still enabled to retain, notwithstanding the rivalry of other nations, through our abundant resources of iron and coal for the application of steam, and the superiority of our power-looms and other cotton-working machinery.

Of the progress of our cotton trade an estimate may be formed, by the quantity of raw material imported into Britain during fourteen years of the present period. In 1840 it amounted to 592,488,010 lbs., in 1845 to 721,979,953, in 1854 to 887,335,904, and in 1858 to 1,034,342,176. To turn this raw material to account, our cotton manufactures alone are calculated to employ 542,000 weavers, spinners, bleachers, &c., and 80,000 engineers, machine-makers, smiths, masons, joiners, &c. The value of the products of this cotton manufacture is estimated at about £52,000,000 per annum, of which £17,000,000 are expended in wages to the several above-mentioned craftsmen, leaving a satisfactory profit to their employers.

The power of the cotton trade has been mani-

festated in the increase of our principal cities during the present period, as well as the general wealth it has created. Thus, Liverpool, which in 1831 had a population of 165,175 inhabitants, had increased in 1851 to 375,955. Glasgow, which in 1831 had 202,426 inhabitants, and in 1841 274,533, had increased in 1851 to 347,001 inhabitants. Manchester and Salford, which in 1831 had a population of 227,808, had in 1851, 367,232 inhabitants. But even the smaller cotton manufacturing towns of England have increased with equal rapidity. Thus the population of—

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
Preston was, in 1780,	6,000	...	In 1851, 69,542
Blackburn	1801, 11,980	...	.. 1851, 46,536
Bolton	1801, 17,416	...	.. 1851, 61,171
Wigan	1801, 10,989	...	.. 1851, 31,941

Of the larger towns in the above enumeration, few have profited by the cotton trade so greatly as Glasgow, which was one of the first to avail herself of this source of commercial prosperity. It has been mainly through its prolific agency at the outset, and the great development of her iron and coal trade which followed, that her population, which at the commencement of this century was about 75,000, now falls little short of half a million, while in wealth as well as population, she is now virtually the capital of Scotland. The manufacture of muslins, which commenced in Scotland in 1825, has been since that period carried on almost entirely by Glasgow houses, one of which alone in 1857, when this department of industrial enterprise had reached its height, employed 500 men and 1500 women in the city, and from 20,000 to 30,000 females, partly in Ayrshire and other districts of Scotland, but mostly in Ireland.

The rapid predominance in the manufacture of cotton above every other commodity, created alarm in the minds of over-prudent statesmen, who foresaw, in this use of a foreign product, the depreciation of our own home-produced material, upon which the industry of our country had so long been exercised, and its commercial character mainly founded. What was to become of our linen and woollen manufactures, if the demand for their cloths was to be superseded by the other cheaper produce? The short-sighted expedient was adopted of laying a tax upon calico-printing, in order to bring up its price to that of linen and woollen stuffs. Accordingly, so early as 1774, a duty was imposed upon it of 3d. per yard, which in 1806 was raised to 3½d. But a more intelligent and liberal spirit had commenced with the present period, under which any kind of restriction upon any branch of manufacture and commerce was to find little favour; and on the entrance of Mr. Paulett Thompson into office, as vice-president of the board of

trade, in 1830, this tax upon calicoes was repealed. The effect of this wholesome measure was speedily apparent. In 1829 only 89,862,433 yards of all descriptions of printed goods were exported; but in 1841 the exportation of printed cottons alone amounted to 329,240,892 yards, of the declared value of £7,772,735. But bounties upon the articles of commerce were now as ungracious as restrictions, and therefore, during the same year in which this calico-tax was taken off, the bounty on the exportation of linen as well as of several other articles was withdrawn.

Of our linen manufactures a brief notice will now suffice. It was natural that they should yield to the predominance of cotton, more especially after the state patronage was withdrawn from them; and accordingly, the trade in linen, although still important, is not so great as in former periods. Throughout the United Kingdom the linen manufacture employs 133,000 hands, while its annual value is estimated at £10,000,000.

In our former notices of the mercantile progress of the country, the importance of its woollen manufactures was distinctly stated: these indeed constituted the chief source of its wealth, and as such were still worthy of cultivation: they also continued to be indispensable, as their products will be needed, let whatever other articles be used along with them, in furniture and clothing. It was fortunate also that the resources of improved skill and new materials were at hand for cheapening the price and thereby extending the use of woollen fabrics. The first step in this direction was made about the year 1834, when goods which had been manufactured from wool alone began to be made of worsted weft and cotton warp, by which the trade was greatly increased. Another improvement that followed in 1836 was the introduction of the wool of the alpaca or Peruvian llama, and subsequently the introduction of mohair, or goat's wool of Asia Minor. The final step was to combine silk itself with this mixture of common wool, alpaca, and mohair; and this, with the application of improved machinery, has so benefited our woollen manufactures, as to insure for them a ready market in every part of the world. The continued importance of this department of manufacture is attested by the fact, that there are 1282 woollen factories in England and Wales, of which 807 belong to Yorkshire alone. Of this county, the great woollen mart of the kingdom, the town of Bradford may be considered the centre and capital, where the worsted manufactures are most abundant, and have been best cultivated and improved. The fruits of this industry have been shown in the statistics of the town. In 1801 Bradford contained

only 13,264 inhabitants, but in 1851 they had increased to 103,782. In the first of these years it possessed no more than three mills, but in the last it had upwards of 160 in active operation.

Scarcely inferior in national importance are our iron manufactures, in the working of which Britain was inferior to other countries until nearly the middle of the last century, on account of timber only being used in the process of smelting, and the consequent failure which took place in this kind of fuel, so that more than two-thirds of the iron used in our island had to be imported from abroad. And yet, even so early as 1619, Edward Lord Dudley had invented a process for smelting iron with pit-coal instead of timber; and in that year he took out a patent for the purpose, but the works erected by his lordship were destroyed by the ignorant rabble, and himself almost ruined by the loss. Thus affairs continued until the great scarcity of wood revived the memory of Lord Dudley's attempt; and about the year 1740 pit-coal was once more used in the making of iron at Colebrookdale, and two or three other places. And even then, thirty more years had to elapse before coal instead of timber came into general use. The progress of this change may be estimated from the following brief statement. In 1740 the quantity of pig-iron made in England and Wales amounted to about 22,000 tons; in 1788 it had risen to 68,000, in 1796 to 125,000, in 1806 to 250,000, and in 1820 to 400,000 tons. From the growing use of iron for many purposes not originally contemplated, and especially from the multiplication of steam-engines, and the construction of railroads, the produce of iron throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, which in 1825 amounted to 615,236 tons, had risen in 1848 to 2,008,200 tons. In 1857 the continuing rise had brought up the amount to 3,659,447 tons. The greatest improvement of our own day in the smelting of iron has been the invention of Mr. J. B. Neilson of Glasgow. Formerly, the air of the blast furnaces was uniformly at the temperature of the atmosphere from which it was taken; and the effect was, not only to produce a lower degree of heat, but to supply a quantity of moisture which is prejudicial to the process of smelting. This moisture, which is always more or less in the atmosphere, is most prevalent during the summer; and from this cause, the furnace could not work so well in that season as in winter. But by Mr. Neilson's invention of the hot-blast, the air is previously dried and heated to a high temperature; the consumption of fuel is lessened to a tenth of what was formerly used in heating the furnace; while the absence of moisture has a beneficial effect on the quality of the iron. This discovery, first used in Lanarkshire, and the rich

strata of ironstone and coal with which that county abounds, have proved a mine of wealth to the district, and a source of prosperity to Glasgow, by which that city has now become the second in the empire. The money value of our pig-iron, which in the present year is more than 3,500,000 tons, has been estimated in round numbers as worth £14,000,000, but the bar-iron that may be formed from it will amount to £19,000,000. Nearly a third of our iron is principally used in Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence chiefly of the great demand in railways, the building of iron ships, and the forging of iron cables; but our exports of all kinds of iron in 1857 amounted to 1,539,386 tons, worth in declared value £13,603,337.

This immense iron manufacture could not have been carried on without that almost exhaustless supply of coal that lies side by side with those metallic strata which are dependent upon its igneous powers. The use of British coal has therefore been in correspondent demand with the requirements for steam travel both by sea and land; and this increase of the coal trade is still rapidly going onward in consequence of the general adoption of steam agency in every European country, and the removal of the duties on its exportation. This consumption of coal in iron manufactures alone will be understood by the fact, that three tons of coal are required for the production of every ton of wrought iron. The total of coal exported from the United Kingdom in 1857 amounted to 6,483,416 tons, valued at £3,019,228. The coal shipped coastwise in the United Kingdom during the same year was from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons. The coal imported into London alone in 1858, by common roads, railways, and canals, was 1,213,464 tons, and by sea 3,266,446 tons. And when will this richest, most useful, and most necessary of mines be exhausted? It is an important national question, which was answered by Dr. Buckland in the House of Commons in 1829, when he confirmed the statement that the coalbeds of South Wales alone contained fuel enough to supply England for 2000 years. And yet, if even all the coal of our island should last for only half that period, Britain will have attained, as a nation, a longevity of which no other country can boast. But upon such a distant futurity what heart, however patriotic, would dare to calculate?

Having thus given in detail our principal manufactures, which constitute the staple of our national stability and strength, we conclude by presenting a summary of them in the aggregate, by which their amount and importance will be more clearly recognized. In 1854 the total declared value of the exported produce and

manufacture of the United Kingdom amounted to £97,298,909. Of this the value of £64,400,587 was sent to foreign countries, and £33,698,313 to India and our colonies. In 1855, the value of the manufactures exported was £95,346,429; in 1856, £115,544,154; and in 1857, £121,769,396.

Other articles, not the produce or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland, constitute a portion of our national commerce, and must be taken into account. Including these in the table of exports and imports, the progress of our commercial industry and wealth during the present period may be estimated from the three following years:—

	Exports.			Imports.			
There were in 1831,.....	£69,691,302	11	7	...	£46,245,241	6	6
„ „ 1840,.....	110,198,716	0	0	...	62,004,000	0	0
„ „ 1850,.....	190,101,394	0	0	...	105,101,607	0	0
„ „ 1857,.....	285,863,927	0	0	...	136,215,849	0	0

Turning from the mere money value of these articles, to the occupation they gave to men and shipping, the accounts of the same years are thus summed up:—

	Vessels.	Tons	Men.
1831. British and Irish,.....	12,248	2,006,397	119,143
Foreign,.....	5,158	758,368	39,769
1840. British and Irish,.....	17,635	3,101,650	170,339
Foreign,.....	10,326	1,331,365	79,550
1850. British and Irish,.....	30,576	6,044,562	317,810
Foreign,.....	14,259	2,233,860	115,395
1857. British and Irish,.....	37,014	5,519,154	284,135
Foreign,.....	23,469	4,863,191	...

In these brief statements, the adventurous enterprise, the wealth, the stability of the nation can be best recognized: they are the official returns of those silent campaigns and bloodless achievements upon which the power of Britain is founded, and by which her fame will be best perpetuated to the admiration and wonder of every future age. And now, then, for the grand review, in which the victorious armies of commerce should be mustered for public parade, its banners displayed, its trophies inaugurated! Such a parade, after careful preparation and upon an adequate scale of grandeur, was to be given in the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, in the memorable year 1851.

It is interesting to notice the first steps of a design so magnificent in its conception and so important in its consequences. They date no earlier than 1756—about the same time that the Royal Academy opened its public exhibitions in painting, engraving, and sculpture. It was then that the productions of art and skill were collected and displayed in London, for the purpose of stimulating public industry and inventiveness; and although these exhibitions were on a limited scale, they were found so useful, that the plan was adopted in France, and there continued with the happiest effect, even when it had long been abandoned in England. In the former

country, the exhibition was so excellent in 1844, and the benefits of the previous displays so apparent, that the English roused themselves from their remissness, and during the years 1847 and 1848 they re-opened their exhibitions, chiefly at the instigation, and by the aid of the Society of Arts, by whom the plan had been revived. So great was now the recognized importance of these industrial displays, that they became a subject of national consideration; and it was felt that something more was necessary than France or England had as yet attempted, to give them their proper development and effect. At this point, a happy idea occurred to his royal highness Prince Albert, the consort of our beloved sovereign: it was to gather together into one place the best specimens of contemporary art and skill, and the natural productions of every soil and climate, instead of the mere local or national productions of France and England. It was to be a whole world of nature and art collected at the call of the queen of cities—a competition in which every country might have a place, and every variety of intellect its claim and chance of distinction. Nothing great, or beautiful, or useful, be its native home where it might—not a discovery or invention however humble or obscure—not a candidate however lowly his rank—but would obtain admission and be estimated to the full amount of genuine worth. It was to be to the nineteenth what the tournament had been to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—a challenge at once and welcome to all comers, and to which every land could send, not its brightest dame and bravest lance as of yore, but its best produce and happiest device for the promotion of universal happiness and brotherhood. It was further adapted to the free, generous, enlightened spirit of the nineteenth century, that it was to belong exclusively to the people themselves of every nation, instead of being supported and controlled by their respective governments. And that nothing might be wanting to its character as a great competitive trial, the sum of £20,000 was set apart for the expense of prizes which were to be awarded to the successful competitors.

This world-wide proclamation went forth into every country, and was met with universal welcome: it was a challenge such as men had never heard, to an emprise in which every nation might hope to be the victor. There was accordingly a stir and a preparation which in its nature formed a new era in the history of national contests. Little time was to intervene, for the great competition was to be opened in London on the 1st of May, 1851. But the place for the specimens and the spectators!—what single tent could lodge the army of Xerxes and all its equipments? This question occurred some-

what of the latest, and the directors of the Exhibition were non-plussed: they found on calculation that no building on earth would suffice to contain a tithe of it. After many expedients had been proposed and rejected, Mr. Paxton came forward with his simple plan, which effectually solved every difficulty. It was, to erect a huge building in the style of a garden conservatory, in which iron and glass should be almost the sole materials, wood being introduced only in the fittings. This method, so new, and so startling for its simplicity, was at once adopted, and the result was a building in Hyde Park nearly twice the breadth, and fully four times the length of St. Paul's. Never before had architecture combined such vastness of extent and adaptation to a specific purpose with such simple means; and when the building was finished in the short space of five months, the world was astonished to see the place where but yesterday, as it were, there had been nothing but trim walks and green sward. It seemed to realize the magnificent conception of the greatest of our poets—

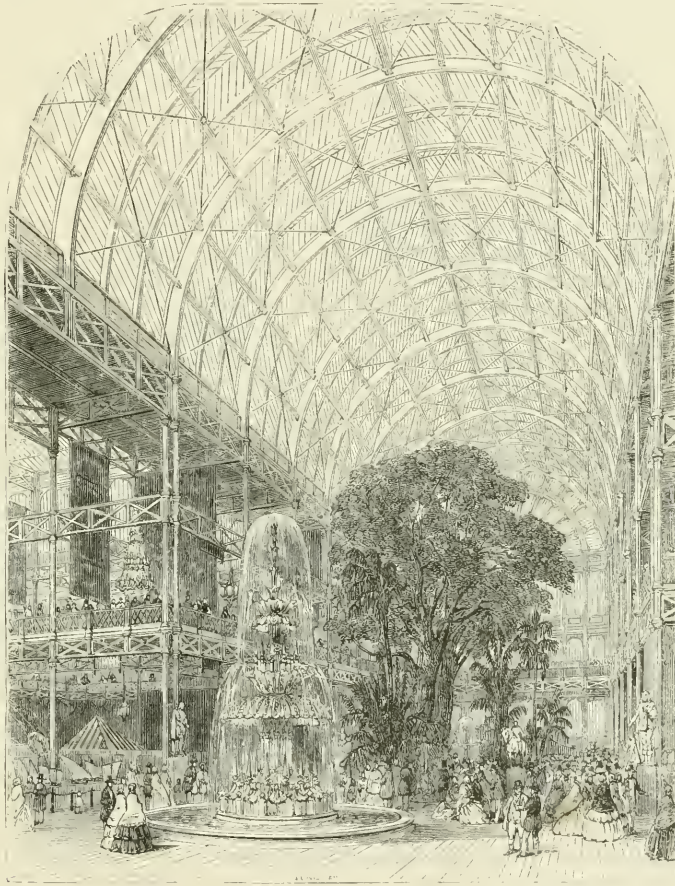
"Anon, out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation."

With its iron framework that rose towards the sky in dark slender lines, and its walls of glittering crystal that seemed to float in mid-air like a vapour, it appeared indeed an exhalation which a breath of wind might disperse—a *fata morgana* that would disappear with a sudden shift of sunshine. But on looking more nearly, it was seen to be a solid edifice, the iron pillars of which were rooted deep in the earth; while within, the combination of light and lofty arches, with ribs forming a graceful metallic net-work, gave strength and security to the edifice.

The "Crystal Palace," as it was appropriately called, occupied twenty-one acres of ground, and contained eight miles of tables. Of this ample space a geographical division was made for the accommodation of the specimens from different countries—the whole of the building west of the great transept being assigned to Britain and her colonies, while all the space to the eastward of the transept was allotted to foreign countries and their colonies. Of the profusion of specimens, natural and artificial, which were collected within such a space, we can only state in general terms that they were comprised under four great classes or divisions:—1. Raw materials; 2. Machinery; 3. Manufactures; 4. Fine Arts. Of the numerous subdivisions of these we have not space even for the names, comprising as they did a voluminous encyclopedia of the world of nature and art. The inauguration of the Crystal Palace, this eighth wonder of the world, as it may be justly called, was in a style of magnificence and

imposing ceremonial worthy of the occasion. Notwithstanding the shortness of the time, all was completed for the promised day and hour; on the 1st of May, 1851, at twelve o'clock, the gates were opened, and her majesty Queen Victoria, accompanied by her royal consort, Albert Prince of Wales, the ministers and officers of state, the princes, ambassadors, and commissioners of all nations in official, military, or court attire, entered in full procession;—and

amidst such a noble retinue many an eye was turned upon the spare form of the venerable Duke of Wellington, while many a heart regarded this scene of promised peace and prosperity as the last and best trophy of his many victories. A splendid throne had been erected upon a large platform, overshadowed by a silken canopy; and besides this royal seat which had been prepared for her majesty, her coming was accompanied with that auspicious attendant of her



THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851. View in the Transept, looking north, showing the Crystal Fountain, &c.
Drawn and engraved by J. L. Williams.

many progresses, a brilliant sunshine, that lighted up the halls, their treasures, and the crowds arrayed in their choicest attire, who were assembled in myriads within the building. Never indeed had a sovereign stood amidst such a magnificent display, or one so completely indicative of national happiness and prosperity. When the queen ascended the throne the national anthem was sung by a chorus of 800 performers, accompanied with the magnificent notes of an immense organ, and the voices of the spectators; after which the royal commissioners, with

the prince consort at their head, read to her majesty the report of the proceedings of the commission. The pile and its purposes were then inaugurated by a prayer from the Archbishop of Canterbury, invoking a blessing upon the undertaking, and the Exhibition was opened amidst the congratulations of the queen, and the responsive gladness of her subjects, who felt in this event the triumph of arts over arms, and the best promise of their country's safety and prosperity.

The Crystal Palace had only been erected for

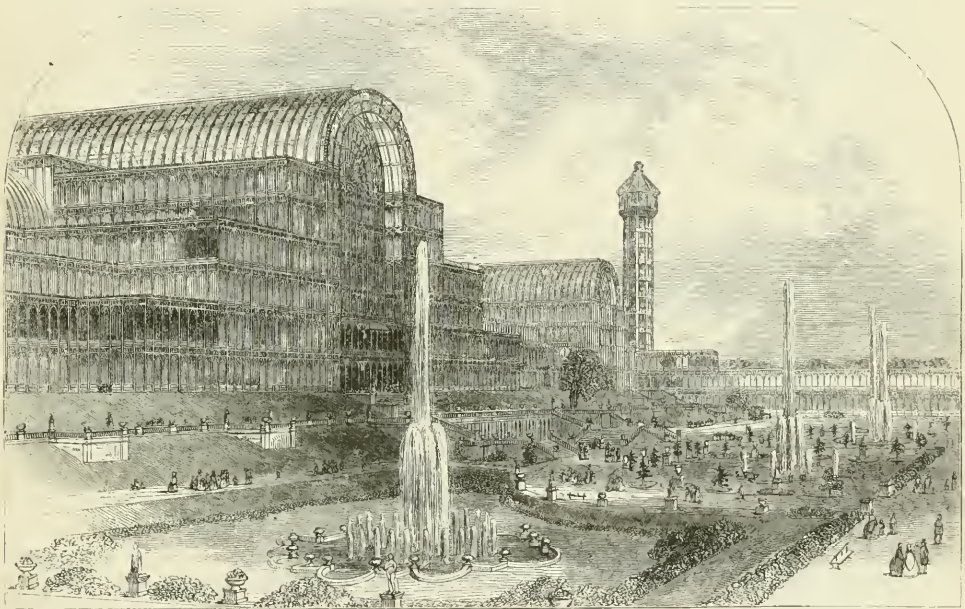
a temporary purpose, and that purpose was at length accomplished. The nations of the earth had met under its roof, and each had been benefited by the competition. Each had seen wherein its defects lay, and had learned how they might be remedied; while all had recognized the superiority of Britain in whatever best conduces to the substantial welfare of society. Nor had our own country been neglectful of the opportunity; and this began to be manifested in more enlarged and refined perceptions of the beautiful in every department of art, and every produce of industry. But must this palace be plucked up, as well as its treasures dispersed? Must such realities pass away like the fictions of an eastern romance, and their very lessons fade through time into an indistinct remembrance? The wish to preserve the building as a permanent repository for the works of industry and art, and the productions of nature, was both intense and general, and applications were made in the first instance to government upon the subject in the earlier part of 1852; but as the original destination of the Crystal Palace had been already fulfilled, government did not feel itself warranted to purchase the building. There was little fear, however, that its materials would be dispersed as useless; for independently of the public benefits of the institution, the structure itself might be turned into a profitable mercantile speculation. Mr. Leech, a private gentleman, undertook the adventure of purchasing the palace, and removing it to a more eligible site. Others were ready to join him; a company was formed, and shares issued in the usual plan of a great mercantile joint-stock enterprise; and half a million of money was quickly raised to begin the undertaking. To make the new palace a place of universal resort, by being of easy access, as well to secure the means of conveyance for the materials of the building, a place on a metropolitan line of railway, and near London, was necessary; and accordingly 300 acres of ground were purchased for the purpose at Sydenham in Kent. Thither the palace was transferred piecemeal from Hyde Park with a facility that in earlier times would have seemed the work of enchantment. But something upon a grander scale was to be produced by the new building than the old. Its strength and its dimensions, the treasures it should contain, and the rich scenery with which it should be surrounded, were to transcend anything that Hyde Park had exhibited; and accordingly all the science, talent, and activity in the empire were employed to construct the new edifice, and collect or create the rich stores it was to contain. Accordingly, while the edifice was rising, and the grounds laying out upon a scale which surpassed the ancient glories of Babylon:

or Hecatompylos, its artists and agents were sent into every country to procure casts and models of their choicest specimens of architecture, statuary, and sculpture; and arrangements were made to bring together every produce comprised in the wide world of nature and art into this great museum of Sydenham. Not only, indeed, do these specimens extend to the earliest products of human industry, but to those of nature herself before man existed; and thus, no division has been left in the whole range of science without its worthiest representatives and illustrations. On these accounts, a thoughtful walk through the Crystal Palace is a pilgrimage through all time, and into every country. The observer wanders through the Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Alhambra courts; and in their specimens he sees the life and the history of man from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of the Abencerrages. From the verge of that dim and far-distant estuary in which the river of time is linked with the boundless sea of eternity, he passes upward through the classical, until he comes to the mediæval ages, whose courts of illustration introduce him to the earlier part of the world that now is, and the dawns of that new civilization with which he is personally identified. And then follows the stir of the living age, in the courts of the various arts, sciences, and manufactures that lie before him—the picture gallery, the naval museum, the engineering models, the Indian court, the industrial museum and technological collection, the industrial exhibition, the agricultural machinery, and the machinery in motion—whose names alone are suggestive of their contents. The whole range of universal history, the whole progress of human improvement from the earliest ages to the present day, thus passes before his eyes like the movement of a peristrepic panorama, and forty centuries glide on successively in the course of a few hours. The philosopher, the historian, the man of science, the lover of art or admirer of nature, the utilitarian and the philanthropist, the delicate fastidious man of taste and sentiment and the hard-handed, hard-working artisan have only to select, each for himself, his own favourite range in this vast museum of earth and time; and collected, as if for his own especial behoof, he will find an abundance that will leave him no room for ignorance, and a beauty that will satisfy his aspirations to the full. It is no wonder therefore if the exhibition of Sydenham has become what it was intended to be—a place of universal resort for the purposes of universal instruction and recreation. Honoured to future times be the names of those who devised such a palace as the dwelling of wisdom—who so combined all that is most alluring with whatever best tends to enlighten

and elevate—and who planted it so nigh to our great metropolis that its benefits can be circulated from the heart to the extremities of our empire! It may, indeed, pass away like an airy vapour, leaving no permanent ruins like those of the Coliseum; but its spectacles were far otherwise than those of gladiatorial shows, and its benefits will continue to be perpetuated when Roman triumphs are forgot!

While the industrial activity of Britain had been kindling at each step of advance until its enterprise had warmed into full glow, a still greater abbreviation of time and space as well as of labour was demanded, and mercantile impatience could no longer submit to the slow inter-communication of the mail or the post-office.

Deep-sea navigation by steam had not only been originated but perfected during the present period, so that no part of the ocean, however remote or stormy, was inaccessible to its visits; and giant ships, increasing yearly in magnitude, speed, and power, had begun a competition in naval architecture which has now swelled into that vessel of hitherto unmatched dimensions—the *Great Eastern*. It was now no longer a metaphor, but an every-day fact, that “time is money;” and the restless trafficker, who could waft his goods across the sea by steam navigation with a rapidity, punctuality, and safety, which to our fathers would have seemed fabulous, was irritated by the delay he encountered in passing from one town of the island to an-

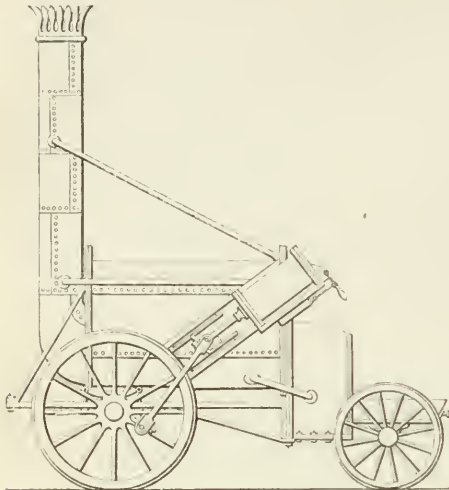


GARDEN FRONT OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE, SYDENHAM.—From a drawing by J. L. Williams.

other. Could he not contrive to travel as rapidly by land as by sea? And might not the power of steam, which had accomplished the former, be equally available for the latter achievement? The possibility indeed had been surmised so early, that it seemed a matter of chance whether the steam-boat or the steam-carriage should have had the priority in point of existence. In 1759, Watt, at that time a young man in his twenty-third year, and resident in Glasgow, had the idea imparted to him by Dr. Robison, then a student in the university, “of applying the power of the steam-engine to the *moving of wheel-carriages* and other purposes.” But the destiny of James Watt, which was sufficient for any individual man, was to develop that power in a different

direction; and thus, as far as he was personally concerned, the thought of steam travel by land was nothing more than a passing idea. But it was taken up by others, so that various attempts continued to be made for the application of steam to land conveyance; and although these were experimental trials, and were one and all unsuccessful, they were steps in advance to the mark. These preludeings continued until George and Robert Stephenson (father and son) entered the field, to become the honoured founders of railway travelling. It had as yet been found hopeless to make the attempt on common highways, and against the obstacles of hill and valley; but the existence of tramroads in various parts of England, which at first were of wood, but afterwards were super-

seeded in 1820 by iron rails, suggested the kind of pathway along which steam carriages could move. This plan was adopted in laying down the first



R. STEPHENSON'S LOCOMOTIVE—THE "ROCKET," 1829.

of the railways, called the Liverpool and Manchester railway in 1829, which served as the model of those that were afterwards constructed throughout the kingdom. Of these, the gauges are two: the broad, which is 7 feet between the rails; the narrow, which is 4 feet 8½ inches. The latter is adopted as the gauge for Great Britain. But besides constructing the path of travel, so that hill and dale should be reduced to nearly an even plane, and avoiding throughout its length every flaw from which danger might arise, the nature of the locomotive for this new and strange mode of journeying had to be studied as well as its highway; and it was quickly found, that this terrible iron behemoth upon which so much depended must carry its own fuel and water, and combine in perfection the qualities of compactness, lightness, and power. These requisites, as far as could be done at so early a stage of the trial, were secured by the locomotive made by the Stephensons, called the *Rocket*, which gained the prize in the competition, and was the first that was set a running upon the new railway. It was considered perfect in lightness, power, and speed, as it weighed only 4 tons, 5 cwt., drew after it 12 tons, 15 cwt., and moved at the rate of fourteen miles an hour, while its greatest speed was twenty-nine miles an hour.

The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway was the commencement of a new era in human history. It was the first link of the chain by which *terra firma* was to be united from sea to sea. Railway travel was now to accomplish for cities and for kingdoms what steam naviga-

tion was effecting for distant islands and continents; so that while the circumference of the world might be navigated in a few months, a country might be traversed in as many days or even hours. A restless activity was awakened which time can never abate, and a sweep of action and change afforded to the short threescore and ten years of human existence, for which the lives of the antediluvians would have been too brief. It was not strange that this triumph of British intellect should be regarded with national complacency, and that the success of the first great experiment should throw British capital and industry into a new path. Railways accordingly were commenced and opened throughout the principal lines of traffic; and when these were exhausted, others were devised in localities where new trades and populations were to be introduced by the change. No district was too remote, no ground too rugged to escape that exploratory spirit which went everywhere in search of a fresh opening, so that in 1845 and 1846 the disposition had grown into an absolute frenzy, and is now remembered as the railway mania. Of the height to which it had grown, a judgment may be formed from the fact, that during these two years alone, applications to parliament obtained assent for the construction of 7238 miles of railway. Amidst such speculation, it was natural that families should be ruined by the thousand, and whole fortunes dissipated as by a whirl of steam. It was well however for the community at large that these railroads were more substantial things than promissory notes and mercantile bubbles. By 1850 the frenzy was exhausted, or sobered down to the construction of 356 miles per annum, and by 1858 to 340. From the official report of 1857 it appeared that, by the end of that year, 9116 miles of railway, including seventy miles of railway tunneling and fifty miles of viaducts, had been constructed and were in use, employing 109,660 persons, from managers, secretaries, and clerks, down to porters, labourers, &c. Of these railway miles, 6777 belonged to England, 1269 to Scotland, and 1070 to Ireland. During the whole of this period of railway construction, the capital that had been raised for the purpose amounted to £314,989,626. Such an outlay is sufficient to explain the numerous wrecks of fortunes it occasioned, as well as to attest the energy it called forth, and the confidence that had been given to its promises. That the return though slow was both certain and profitable, was now however vouched by the railway report of 1857. During that year, upwards of 139,000,000 passengers had been conveyed, giving a return of ten and a half millions sterling. To this sum, we must add the conveyance of light and heavy goods, and live stock

during the year, averaging thirteen and a half millions sterling. Thus, the railway returns for this single year amounted in all to £24,174,609. Onward to the present day the impetus of railway travelling has increased, so that almost every journey of more than a mile is performed by steam. In 1859 about thirty millions of people passed in and out of London alone by its various railway termini.

But loss of fortune was not the only evil entailed by the railway; there was also the danger of loss of life; and this was gloomily announced at the very commencement, when Mr. Huskisson was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. It was to be no longer the deliberate downfall of a coach, in which the passengers, while emptied into a dry ditch, know whither they are going and what may be expected; it was rather a sudden crash or explosion, in which all were equally helpless, and where wounds and death in their most appalling forms might be multiplied an hundredfold. Nothing had ever been more completely devised to humble the pride of man than his helplessness in a railway-carriage, the masterpiece of his inventiveness and power: it is as if his spell had evoked a demon to do his bidding, but which at any moment may rend him in pieces or fling him to the winds. In a speed of motion, which upon the principal railways is often forty-five miles an hour, but which is sometimes raised to sixty miles, it was impossible but that terrible accidents should occur, and that they should at length demand the interference of the legislature. The matter was thoroughly investigated by a select committee of the House of Commons in 1858, and there it was shown that accidents on railways originate in three causes: these are, carelessness of servants—defective materials in the works of the conveying medium or the agent—and excessive speed. Of these accidents, about twice as many occur from collision between trains, as by running off the rail; and of these collisions, about five-sixths take place between passenger trains and goods trains, and only one-sixth by passenger trains running into each other. Not above one-twentieth have arisen from excessive speed, and in all these latter cases, they were caused by some imperfection in the railway. Most of the railway disasters were attributable to the crowding of trains timed for unequal speeds, and the want of punctuality; and to lessen the chances of these, powerful brakes for bringing up a train within the shortest distance had been used, but especially the road telegraph, that could announce the threatened danger along the whole line in a few seconds. Having these data before them, the enactments of parliament for the safety of railway travelling are such as

to meet every contingency, so that 200 of these apply to the London and North-Western Railway alone. And while the chances of danger have been diminished, the dread of them has abated. The weekly or even daily traveller can now inclose himself as confidently in the railway carriage that is to whirl him 500 miles along in the course of ten or twelve hours, as he would intrust himself to the cab that is to convey him a few streets off.

When this new mode of transit was adopted, the canals and public roads of our island had been brought to their highest state of perfection, and had given their best promise of future usefulness. But the new principle of motion had made them superfluous, and both mail-coach and track-boat began to be laid aside. Even for the conveyance of goods as well as travellers, the facility of the railway was preferred, and the wonders of Brindley and Macadam were forgot in the triumph of the Stephensons. An effort, indeed, was made in behalf of our canals so late as 1831, when a swifter mode of travelling upon them, by the use of light and sharply-modelled boats, was introduced by Mr. Houston upon the Glasgow and Paisley Canal. His experiments then showed, that passengers could be conveyed by this change at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and this without injury to the banks by such unwonted speed of canal travelling. But the universal impatience was too ardent for such poor progress, and few now travel by such a conveyance except invalids, or those with whom time is of little account. In the goods conveyance, they are also used chiefly for such articles as cannot well bear the expense of transport by the railway.

Having thus noted the progress and improvement of the means of comfortable living for the community at large, it is necessary to ascertain its practical results. In such a case, also, where the minutæ are familiar to the personal and local experience of every reader; we shall serve our purpose more satisfactorily by summing up the total of this experience in the general statistics of the present period with an occasional comparison with the past. In 1853 the population of the United Kingdom amounted to 27,500,000. But while this increase had gone on by the natural ratio, the produce of the wheat crops since the year 1760 had at least been quadrupled. For this population, therefore, which had little more than doubled during the interval, there had grown such an increase in the means of comfortable living, that the use of wheaten bread had become universal. Oats are now used almost wholly for horses, and barley for distilleries and brewing, while rye-bread is almost unknown. Of wheat and other grains,

and of pease and beans, the consumption in 1853 was about 49,000,000 quarters, and of these, 33,000,000 were used for the food of man alone, while of this human consumpt, more than one-half consisted entirely of wheat. Of these, the annual importations of foreign wheat after the restrictions had been removed, until 1852, had averaged somewhat more than 3,000,000 quarters, and during the last-mentioned year they amounted to 4,164,602.

The improved agriculture that had made our corn fields so productive was equally apparent in the rearing of our cattle, which, as butcher-meat, had increased in bulk, quality, and firmness, partly owing to the crossing of superior breeds, but still more through the improvements introduced into their feeding by the cultivation of clover, turnips, and mangold-wurzel. The consumpt of butcher-meat in London alone during the course of a single year may serve as a fair criterion for the United Kingdom at large. In 1852 the number of cattle sold in Smithfield was 256,948, of sheep 1,575,340, and of fatted calves, not including sucklers, 36,027. These in all were calculated as representing 297,071,530 lbs. weight, and, at the average price of 7d. per lb., would bring in money about £8,664,586. But besides all this there was abundance of hogs and pigs which were not taken into account. Much of this, indeed, goes from London to other towns and villages, yet from these as much butcher-meat is supposed to be imported into the metropolis in return. In this Smithfield report only the staple commodities of animal food are comprised; but the London annual bill of fare would be vastly augmented if we also reckoned the mountains of poultry and game, not to speak of fish, which are consumed by its 3,000,000 inhabitants. In passing from England to Scotland we find the increase of subsistence and improvement of diet still more remarkable. And here we have only to select Glasgow as the criterion. In that city, not only at the middle but even to the close of the last century, flesh markets were almost unknown, and the chief subsistence of families was generally a small cow or bullock killed and salted in November, which was made to last all the year. This is still familiar to the recollections of many in Scotland as the "winter's mart," which was the common resource over the kingdom. But in 1851 there were killed in Glasgow 29,569 oxen, 4443 calves, 123,188 sheep and lambs, and 5157 pigs, independently of the great amount of fresh and salted meats imported into the city.

In this brief enumeration it will be seen that for the 27,500,000 of the British population art and industry have done their utmost, and that for all there is food enough and to spare. But even at the most sumptuous wholesale feasts it will

happen, however plentiful the viands may be, that some of the guests have less than their share, and must depart almost as hungry as they came—that a competition will go on in the area for the fragments, and even a scramble under the table for the crumbs—and that a crowd of poor expectants who have waited on the threshold for their dole must betake themselves with a sigh to some more bountiful quarter. And thus amidst the growing and increasing plenty has it continued to be with the British community at large. Many toil for half a share, and many toil in vain; in some the enterprise is misdirected, and in others even the feeling of hunger is absorbed in a more prevalent indolence. Through fault or through misfortune "the poor shall never cease out of the land," let its abundance be what it may; and while the triumph of wealth is at the height the cry of destitution has waxed louder than ever. It seems, indeed, a necessary doom of national abundance to create and multiply its opposite, and the list of achieved fortunes to be balanced by an equal amount of deprivation. But while such a consequence would have been fatal to any other country, Britain during this period surmounted and is still able to surmount it by the numerous safety-valves she possesses in the form of colonies, in which the utmost of her poverty can find a home and sustenance, and the best of her unemployed energy an ample field of exertion. And it was well for our country that such lands of refuge had been in preparation for the coming of the evil day, and that they presented such scope for every variety of demand and occupation. In this way the younger sons of our aristocracy—men of noble name but scanty means, and who, but for such a resource, might either dwindle into tradesmen or degenerate into such titled paupers as are too often found in some parts of the Continent—can find civil or military appointments in our Indian empire sufficient for their necessities or even for their ambition. The man of small capital or of commercial talents and enterprise may become a sugar or cotton planter in the West Indies, or a comfortable landholder at the Antipodes. He who has no inheritance but a pair of broad shoulders or skilful mechanical hands knows that at the worst he has only to transfer himself to Canada, South Africa, or Australasia, where he will have not only the certainty of abundant wages, but the means of becoming a master instead of a workman, a landed proprietor instead of a ploughman. Even he who has consumed his last crust, and has no prospect for the morrow, can still at various ports find a vessel that will waft him free of expense to New Zealand or Australia, where the supply of labour is still the desideratum, and where, with moderate work, he may fare luxuriously

every day. These resources of emigration have been widely opened during the present period, and extensively used, not only on account of the facilities afforded for a transit to these regions at a merely nominal expense, and the speed and ease of the passage through the employment of steam, but also by the liberal institutions which the home government has granted to these colonies, so that a man finds himself as free a British subject at the other side of the earth as in the heart of Middlesex. Of the growth of emigration, therefore, during the present period, an idea may be formed from the numbers of emigrants during the three following years:—There were in

1831, ...	83,160 persons.
1841, ...	118,592 „
1851, ...	335,966 „

The consequence of such copious emigrational drains, which took place every year, was not only the immediate relief of the destitute, but a more abundant supply of work and wages for those who remained. These advantages have been especially conspicuous in Ireland, where they were most needed, from the continual overcrowding of the population beyond the means of subsistence, which was a fruitful source of anarchy, crime, and political discontent. In their case, however, the tide of emigration has been directed, not so much to our colonies as to the United States of America, which they seem to consider as their home next to their own island. The great emigration that took place from Ireland from 1846 to 1854, which so greatly alarmed our politicians, and threatened to depopulate the whole island, only redounded to its benefit by raising the wages and greatly improving the condition of the still abundant population who remained behind.

The immense number of emigrants in 1851, as compared with that of previous years, was the beginning of a new era in the history of British emigration. In our chief pastoral colony, Australia, many had become impatient of the slow progress of money-making as shepherds, and had betaken themselves to the gold fields of California, where fortunes could be made or hopes marred in the turning of a die. The report of the rich lumps of gold which were found in that quarter, was directing the new tide of emigration thitherward, when it was suddenly discovered that Australia possessed her gold fields as well as California, and of easier and more comfortable access. This discovery was first made in a district between twenty and thirty miles beyond Bathurst, a town about 125 miles distant from Sydney, and the honour of the discovery and its public intimation was due to Mr. Edward Hammond Hargraves. Beneath a soil so sterile that three acres were needed to pasture a single

sheep, masses of gold were lying within a few inches of the surface; the sands and the stones were impregnated with gold; whole rocks of gold lay buried beneath them, of which these were but the indications. A rush of the population towards Bathurst was the consequence, and the “Valley of Ophir,” as the auriferous district was called, was soon covered with tents and filled with gold-seekers, while the fortunes that were realized caused the number of disappointments to be overlooked. But this success, instead of staunching, only whetted the general cupidity: there were ranges of mountains in the great Australian continent similar to the gold-producing ranges of California and Russia, and a short exploration sufficed to discover the hidden treasures of Ballarat, which were supposed to be tenfold greater than even those of Bathurst. This was enough to turn the tide in the direction of Victoria, hitherto only an offshoot of the parent colony of New South Wales: servants forsook their masters, shepherds their flocks, shopkeepers their traffic, in the new rush that took place, and in the turmoil all social order was unhinged and regular industry suspended. But it was not alone from the Australian districts that this concourse was gathered; the vessels that arrived were emptied of their crews, and officer and sailor alike hurried off to the diggings, leaving their ships unmanned in the harbour. From Australia the tidings were not long in reaching Europe, and while every town in Britain was infected with a mania for gold-finding, every European country caught the infection; and thus, the immense increase of emigration to these colonies which had commenced in 1851, the year of the discovery, was kept up for several years afterwards. Happily, however, after the gold nigh the surface was gathered, it was found that privation was to be encountered and toil endured, and the resources of science and skill tasked to the uttermost in winning these treasures as well as any other advantage, while the uncertainty was greater and the chance of failure more frequent. Accordingly, those whose impatience to be rich was not so ardent, or whose hopes were less sanguine, and those who had not strength, health, and nerve to endure the laborious ordeal of the diggings, returned to their regular employments, and left the gold fields to the superintendence of government, and the operations of practical scientific workmen.

Of the importance, however, of this great Australian discovery to the mother country of Great Britain, and the effects it is likely to produce on her enterprises of colonization and commerce, it is necessary to give a more distinct idea by arithmetical figures, rather than those of rhetoric. The annual supply of the precious

metals throughout the world is estimated at £47,000,000, of which their several sources and amount have been given as follows:—

From America.	£8,700,000
From California, ...	14,000,000
From Europe, ...	1,500,000
From Russo-Asiatic provinces, ...	3,885,000
From Australia, ...	19,000,000

In 1852 the yield from the gold fields of Victoria alone was 4,247,637 ounces, which at the low rate of 75s. per ounce, gives the amount of £15,928,714. It is well that this enormous increase, with which merchandise might have been flooded and swamped, was drawn off for other purposes than those of traffic, and in those of arts and ornament alone nearly one-half of the precious metals are absorbed or locked up. Even yet too the flow of gold, instead of contracting, is becoming wider through the recent discoveries of the auriferous sources in British Columbia, to which the gold-seekers who have been disappointed in other quarters are now directing their renewed spirit of enterprise.

The vast increase of wealth and population to our Australian colonies during this season of gold fever, although wonderful in the history of colonization, was nothing more than natural and to be expected. The cause was enough to attract myriads, not only from the mother country but from different parts of Europe, and even from China, whose inhabitants, setting at nought the prohibitions of their barbarous laws against emigration, repaired in great numbers to Australia. Strange therefore will be the blended population of all races which these colonies will exhibit a hundred years hence; and equally strange the blending of idioms, when this Babel of speech has subsided into one of the forms of the English tongue! It might have been thought that in a colony such as New South Wales, whose population was so largely mixed with convict materials, the first scramble of the discovery would have been accompanied with a frightful outburst of lawlessness and crime; but it is singular to remark, that the first eighteen months at the gold fields of Bathurst were unaccompanied with any remarkable addition to the criminal statistics of the law courts. Very different was the case at Victoria, to which the more reckless of the adventurers repaired, and where those who could not find gold for themselves were ready to snatch it from their more fortunate neighbours, or intercept it on its way to head-quarters. Of the amount of the emigration, an idea may be formed from the sudden rise of Victoria. In 1836, this Australian colony only commenced its existence. In 1851 its population had risen to 77,345 inhabitants, but in 1852, when the fields of Ballarat had been laid open, the population was increased

to about 200,000. In 1851 its revenue was £379,824, but in 1852 it was £1,576,801. During the latter year, fifteen steamers with emigrants arrived in the Australian ports, of which the greater part were landed at Melbourne. Since that period, the increase of Victoria has gone on so rapidly that it has about 500,000 of population; its imports are about £10,000,000 and its exports about £11,000,000; and it has an annual revenue of nearly £4,000,000; while its principal city, Melbourne, in 1857, numbered a population of 70,000, with 30,000 in the suburbs. Sydney, the capital of the mother colony, although now inferior to Melbourne, had in 1856 a population of 53,118; and while the luxuries and comforts of both are equal to those of London or Edinburgh, these cities possess a beauty of site, scenery, and climate, with which the capitals of our own country can scarcely compete. Besides these two colonies, this great island or continent has that of South Australia, rich in copper mines, and Western Australia, originally known as the Swan River settlement, which was established in 1829, the capitals of which are Adelaide and Perth,—and Queen's Land, a region of excellent pasturage. Out of the mixed population of Australia, considerably more than a million are of British birth or parentage, insuring the permanent establishment among them of Anglo-Saxon blood, language, and institutions. Who does not recognize in these, the germs of a future empire similar to that which we have planted in America? In this way, our several colonies in Canada, Australasia, and the West Indies are vast fields for British emigration as well as depôts for our future commerce; and in these her children, Britain may survive to distant ages when her own days are numbered.

From the emigrant experience which our country has been somewhat slow to gather, it is now generally understood that the weak, the sickly, the indolent, and that all of sedentary or literary professions can scarcely hope to better their condition as colonists. Strong arms, patient industry, and agricultural skill are certain to win their way to fortune; while the clerk or tradesman is at a discount, and even the Oxford student may starve, unless he can herd cattle or drive a dray. It was accordingly found in the reports of the late emigration commissioners, that for every single emigrant drawn from our six greatest manufacturing districts, four were drawn from six of our merely agricultural counties. But of all the communities who have departed from our shores, none have so greatly benefited as the Irish, whose sole possession and inheritance was the sad one of deportation. For them no work was too arduous, no fare too

humble, no difficulty too great; and in their new homes they roused themselves like giants from the sleep of years, and went onward with a dashing intrepidity and sturdy perseverance that outstripped their wondering competitors from England, and even from Scotland. A new life was opened to the delighted Hibernian when he found that he could actually become a man of substance; and he showed—what was more wonderful still—that he had the gift of discreet management about him as soon as he had something to manage. “In the United States, in Canada, and in Australia,” says Count Strzelecki, “I saw the Irish living as well as the Anglo-Saxons, acquiring their grumbling habits, and thus continually improving their condition.” But something more honourable still can be stated in praise of these Irish emigrants. While they were thus waxing comfortable and acquiring provident habits, they had neither forgot their former home nor the friends they had left behind them; neither absence nor prosperity had chilled them into selfishness, as is too often the case with other fortunate adventurers; and the first fruits of their success were transmitted to Ireland for the support of their starving kindred, or to furnish them with the means of emigrating to this land of promise, where they might become as independent and happy as themselves. But the amount of these remittances would be incredible were it not for the veritable source from which the information was derived. During the ten years that intervened from 1848 to the close of 1857, the sums thus remitted by Irish colonists, through the great commercial firms and banking houses, amounted to £9,937,000! or about £1,000,000 annually, independently of what was sent through other channels. This was the testimony given to government by these houses themselves, and from whom, in such evidence, no exaggeration could be expected. As long as Ireland possesses such noble hearts, the hope of her regeneration, in spite of the thwarting influence of priests and demagogues, may be cherished as a political certainty.

But alas that we must now exclaim, “Look on this picture, and on this!” We must turn from the Jove-like “presentment” to his brother—to him whom the same mother bore, and the same lap nursed, but only to blight the other, if not to drag him to destruction. While the march of improvement was thus going onward with such an accelerated speed, the multitudes who were left behind at every step continued to increase, until the benefits of progress itself seemed more than counterbalanced by the evils of which it had been directly or indirectly the cause. During these last thirty years, the cry of warning

and despair was loud enough to drown the jubilant shouts of triumph and self-gratulation; to excite alarm and provoke inquiry. And it was then found that beneath this alluring surface, a mass of popular crime and misery was festering that silently tainted the air with a deadly pestilence, and might at any moment burst forth with an all-overwhelming explosion. It was ascertained that a nation exhibiting the highest amount of virtue and intelligence also most abounded in the very extremes of these qualities, and that the height of national prosperity itself was the culminating point at which our swift and certain ruin was already commencing. Such was the intelligence conveyed by modern journalism, under which no individual however lowly can be unknown, or deed however secret concealed, and by which evils are explored, laid open, and denounced of which our fathers were contented to remain in untroubled ignorance. To these unwelcome revelations, which have awakened the benevolent inquiries and formed the perplexing problems of social science, we must now reluctantly turn: the subject itself is too widely known, and too deeply felt, to require either a lengthened or minute detail.

A fruitful primary source of these increasing evils was the defective system of education. While England was increasing in intellectual renown, by the master intellects she produced, and those improvements in science and literature by which the world at large was benefited, the fact still continued to exist, that she was the only civilized country that had no national system of education. We have already, more than once, alluded to the struggles which were made to repair this evil, and the causes from which the attempt was frustrated. No sooner was the proposal started than the religious jealousies of all parties were awake, and a uniform state education was found as hopeless as a uniform state creed. As a consequence of this, it was ascertained by calculation that even during the latter part of the present period there were nearly 8,000,000 of our population who could neither read nor write. These, too, did not consist exclusively of the poorest classes, as many of our farmers were under the same intellectual destitution. Of the character of our education, that of the upper classes was reckoned the best in Europe. This indeed was nothing more than might have been expected, on account of our richly-endowed universities, our public libraries, and the liberality of our aristocracy, who were willing to bespeak the best instructors, whether native or foreign, at any price. Of the middle and mercantile classes, it was found that the education was decidedly defective, even as compared with that of other countries, having more show than

substance, while the schools were rather cheap or comfortable boarding-houses than strictly educational institutions. For a still lower grade of society—that of shopkeepers and thriving artisans—the education was generally found of a more substantial and practical character, especially in town and city day schools; but this advantage was counteracted by the shortness of time given in the attendance of their pupils, who in early life were generally sent to learn a trade. But last of all were the schools for the masses, which were as defective as such institutions could well be. The teachers were seldom even half educated, consisting generally of the lame, the sickly, or deformed, who could not obtain a living otherwise; of the indolent, who thought that dosing at a school-desk was more pleasant than handling a spade; and of broken-down tradesmen, who were good enough to manage a school, as they could manage nothing else. The school-room in the country was frequently an uninhabitable hut, and in the town, a chilly or ill-ventilated apartment; while both in town and country the children were so crowded together, that mutual sickness rather than mutual improvement was the usual result. Such were the generality of schools for male and female pupils of the lower classes throughout England and Wales; and where better buildings might have been erected for the purpose, and more efficient teachers appointed, these purposed improvements were frequently marred at the outset by the political and sectarian jealousies of the parents. And while from these several causes not one-half of the children of England and Wales, between the ages of five and fourteen, attended any school whatever, the education at these humble academies was of the most scanty and unsatisfactory description—a little reading, writing, and arithmetic, picked up in the midst of the confusion as they best might—while in the schools of a better class, also, these composed the whole curriculum. It was only in going higher still—to the costly academies and institutions of the mercantile and middle ranks—that these were found mixed with a modicum of geography, history, science, music, and drawing.

While the general education was thus so far short of the advance of the age, that it only perpetuated the old established ignorance, and increased the dead weight that was gathering at every step of progress—and while this ignorance multiplied crime, and increased the popular envy and discontent of the lower against the higher classes, there was another national evil by which the ranks of the lower classes were fearfully multiplied, as well as their condition sunk lower in the social scale. This was the manner in which land is tied up by entail, and the conse-

quent difficulty of selling or alienating it. As the privileged class of landholders continued to die out, their estates, instead of being thrown into the market, continued to accumulate in the hands of the survivors; and in consequence of this feudal fatality, shopkeepers, farmers, and thriving peasants were prevented from purchasing a few acres, and planting their families among the independent landholders. From the same cause, which converts small farms into large ones, the peasantry are shut out from the chance of rising into farmers. And thus our brave-hearted, independent, comfortable yeomanry, once the pride of England and its best defence, have almost disappeared from the country which they served so well. We are told that in 1770 there were not less than 250,000 freehold estates belonging to as many different families. In 1815, at the close of the French war, this number had diminished to 32,000. And yet there was no natural necessity for such decrease, as in 1847 there still remained about 11,300,000 acres in England wholly uncultivated, but capable of cultivation. And with our yeomanry, the healthy, cheerful, out-door sports of “merry England,” the games of cricket and football, the shooting-matches, running matches, and village dances have departed. Near our large, and especially our manufacturing towns, hedges are broken through, the grounds trampled down, and fruit-trees destroyed, especially on Sundays; and hence the necessity of high walls and fences, by which the walks of the working people are confined to narrow dusty roads. The commons and public village greens have been inclosed, and the games that enlivened them excluded. Thus circumstanced, the peasantry of England have few places of relaxation except the village ale-house, in the stimulants of which its frequenters drown the sense of their depression, until they become confirmed sots and drunkards. There also the village *quidnuncs* hold their treason clubs, listen to demagogues who indoctrinate them in the principles of chartism and socialism, and are trained for every change of political outbreak, from simple rick-burning up to a national revolution and agrarian spoliation. And as it is necessary for such an idle improvident course to have the means of ale-house indulgence, they there concoct their plans of poaching, house-breaking, theft, and highway robbery, by which they are enabled to act out their chief principle of “a short life and a merry.” It has been always thought that a country life, even at the worst, was less depraved than a town one; but recent investigations have shown, that in England at least the amount of crime in the agricultural counties is scarcely inferior to that of the mining and manufacturing districts. This was

proved by Lord Ashley from the statistics of the years 1841 and 1847. In passing from the rural to the civic sources of demoralization, we find that these, both in number and character, are adapted to the several divisions of the lower classes, and the multiplied cravings of artificial city life. The chief of them are low theatres in which Jack Sheppard morality is taught; fairs, and dancing taverns, which last are also frequently brothels; and in all of them the young of both sexes are trained by regular steps from the mere theft of a penny, the price of a theatre ticket, to iniquity upon its most daring or complicated scale. Then, there are gin palaces by the thousand, where small measures of the ardent spirit are sold at a low price to suit every grade of boyhood; and the shops of dealers in marine stores, where every kind of stolen goods are received, prompt payment given, and no questions asked. Of a somewhat higher class, and externally more decorous, though perhaps scarcely less corrupting, are the casinos, mask-balls, tavern-theatres, and betting clubs, with which our principal cities abound—and to these may be added the low horse-races that congregate the lawless population both of town and country.

Into the details of pauperism and moral depravity produced by such a state of things we have no desire to enter. We can only touch upon the generalities of such a subject, and yet their slightest disclosure is enough to produce a recoil of terror and disgust. Such was the increase of poverty during the present period, that in 1848 the number of paupers relieved by the boards of guardians amounted to 1,876,541 in England, or about one-eighth of the whole national population, independently of the hundreds of thousands who were relieved by private charity. Of the homes of such myriads of the destitute—whether in town or country, whether permanent residences or temporary lodging houses—their unhealthiness and discomfort baffled all description. But this was not the worst. Where people were crowded by tens, and even by twenties, into a single apartment, without distinction of age, sex, or character, the moral atmosphere of such a sty became more pestilential than the physical, and not only the crimes incident to such a style of living were unblushingly and openly prevalent among them, but those outrages against natural feeling which every community has doomed beyond reprove. What could be otherwise when brothers and sisters, when parents and children, hardened to every moral feeling and ignorant as the brutes that perish, lived night and day huddled within a single room? Such a state of things was revealed by the investigations which were set on foot as would have been incredible of the lowest stages of barbarism and the darkest

epochs of society, far more of England itself, and the middle of the nineteenth century. It was a natural result of such promiscuous living, mixed with such squalor, destitution, and gross dissipation, that 60,000 still-born children (happier than those who survived) should be annually brought forth throughout the kingdom. It was also a natural result that the infants of such parents should be little prized at their entrance into life, and regarded as incumbrances and curses rather than blessings. Accordingly, society was suddenly startled by the revelation that infanticide had become an English crime, and was prevalent in the midst of us. Parents enrolled themselves in burial societies with a perspective view to the profit which they meant to realize upon it, and the infant, as soon as born, was deliberately doomed to death by the mother for the sake of the burial fees. A few drops of laudanum silenced the innocent victim for ever, and the price of its life furnished the means of more ample household comfort, if not of gross revelry and indulgence. In this way, parents could calculate upon their own children, as the farmer does upon his sheep for the market or the shambles. It was a crime which no statistics could reach, and no surmise could be made of how many hundreds or thousands had thus passed through the fire to Moloch before the alarm was given, and inquiry set upon the alert. It was indeed full time that the registration of every birth and death, under whatever circumstances, should be imposed as a universal duty, and a strict compliance with it enforced under heavy legal penalties.

While such had been the progress of secret and unpunished crime, the amount of open offences against the law, and the number of convictions, instead of being stationary, had continued on the increase. This is apparent by a comparison of the statistics of 1817 with those of 1857. During this interval of forty years, the population of England had increased from twelve to twenty-one millions, while the increase of our criminal calendar was more than doubled. Thus there were in

1817—Convicted, 911.	Sentenced to death, 911.	Executed, 78.
1857 " 2057.	" 21.	" None.

It will be seen from the merciful character of the last year, that our statute-books had been revised, that a reaction of clemency in favour of our criminals had set in like a spring-tide—that the punishment of death had been all but discontinued, while transportation, its milder alternative, had been abolished. The same tables also show, that convictions for crimes accompanied with personal violence had very greatly increased. There were—

	Year 1817.	Year 1857.
Stabbing or wounding, ...	26	208
Robbery, ...	154	378
Burglary, ...	374	473
Housebreaking, ...	152	568
Larceny in dwelling-houses, ...	143	246
Forgery, &c., ...	62	184

It was fortunate in such a state of things that the sharp spirit of inquiry was on the alert—that the means of publicity were so perfected—that zealous philanthropy was alive and ready for action. Public crimes might be dealt with by the law; but there was a whole world of offence lying beneath them which justice could not reach unless our free constitution had been subverted. First to check, and finally to eradicate this foul leprosy which was rooted so deeply and spreading so fast, must be instantly commenced, for the life of the whole community was at stake. Parliament accordingly interfered with enactments, and societies and associations were formed for the suppression of vice, the relief of destitution, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the lower orders. Never was “social science” so anxiously studied, never was British benevolence so active, so liberal, so self-sacrificing; and if anything can mitigate the horrors of the view, it is to be found in the benevolence that applied the remedy. The lowest depths of society were laid open, and a hell disclosed of crime and suffering over which the nation had been hitherto reposing in peace. But even into that murky abode Christian charity could enter to reform and regenerate. The plans for the benefit of the lower orders, although they form so distinguishing a characteristic of the present period, are yet so numerous, that to only a few of them we can afford a passing notice.

For the poorest of the poor the means of emigration have been multiplied both by government and colonial bounties; and those who are willing for work but unable to find it, may obtain not only a free comfortable passage to a new home, but profitable occupation there to the full, and in many cases a grant of land sufficient to establish them in honest independence. But as too many have neither enterprise nor industry for such an easy venture, or are too closely wedded to their old haunts and dissipation, means are adopted either to allure them from their vagrant profitless life, or compel them to respect the decencies of society. Their steps are watched, and their domestic economy controlled by a stricter surveillance. The wretched lodging-houses in which they congregated, and where they defied all law and common decency, have either been removed, or compelled to take out licenses, by which they are regulated as to their means of health and comfort, and the behaviour of their inmates. The narrow closed courts of

towns, among whose swarming families life was smothered and pestilences engendered, are opening to the air of heaven and the light of day. The sanitary regulations imposed upon these localities have been so many and minute, that diseases among them are neither so prevalent nor so infectious. With light and air, water has been more abundantly introduced, and thus personal cleanliness may be made the stepping-stone and commencement of a moral reformation. Piles of new houses are rising in our towns, expressly built for the accommodation of the poor, in which a small rental is requited by such means of comfort and even of neatness, as the habitations of earlier erection for the better classes can seldom exhibit. Nor in this enumeration should we forget the public fountains, which are rising in every street, and at which the wanderer or labourer can comfortably quench his thirst, without the necessity of repairing to the gin palace or ale-house. The church accommodation for the poor has been increased; humble places for public worship opened; sermons expressly suited to the lowest of the destitute prepared, and open-air preaching more extensively practised, so that every shade of ignorance or vice can find its appropriate instruction, and every kind of threadbare or ragged clothing a place in which its wearer may appear without diffidence. It is significant of these religious agencies, that even our church dignitaries, who formerly scowled at them as ecclesiastical irregularities, are beginning to take part in them. For the children of such parents, also, ragged schools have been established, where industrial habits along with a good sound education are carefully inculcated; and going lower still, we have reformatory schools, where the young, already depraved, are broke in for the ragged school; and reformatory prisons, out of which the culprit may depart a wiser and a better man. In this way, strong, sharp, heavy utensils are breaking and delving into the deepest stratum of society, to reconstruct and strengthen the yielding foundations of our social edifice. Much indeed has to be done; but even already much has been accomplished, giving promise of better days for Britain in the good work of moral regeneration and advancement.

But the co-operation of the people themselves was most needed; an act of *self*-reformation was demanded, by which they should voluntarily combine for the improvement and elevation of their own order. For centuries the vice of drunkenness had been reckoned the chief of our national offences, the fruitful parent of more than the half of our social evils; and until this was abjured, it was felt that every moral appliance would be only a superficial or temporary remedy. And that the stigma which was branded

upon our national character had been too justly merited, a brief retrospection through the whole range of our national history will sufficiently confirm. It was the master-vice of the northern races from whom the greater part of the European nations were derived; but while the continental nations had outgrown this evil tendency of their fathers, it had continued to flourish in insulated Britain unmitigated and unchecked; so that even during the reign of the two first Georges, foreigners had been scandalized, when they visited Britain, with the spectacle of drunken peers, flustered clergymen, and thriving merchants who hiccapped in their speech when the hours of 'change were ended. The reformation, indeed, of this general evil had commenced, as it ought, among the upper classes; but it was not till the beginning of the present century, that to be "as drunk as a lord" was a comparison that could no longer hold good. It was only then that the vice had become unfashionable in the higher ranks, and discreditable among the mercantile aristocracy—that, under the influence of nobler aims, and a keener struggle in the contests of wealth or ambition, the better classes had freed themselves from the long-established tendency. But the demon, thus driven from high places, took a closer shelter in the lower, where, from the causes already mentioned, his hold became more general and more inveterate than ever. When the bulk of destitution and crime had increased through this evil alone to an amount beyond what society could endure, a remedy was sought, but was long in finding. Could the ignorant, the destitute, the despised, be weaned from drunkenness, as well as the rich, the noble, and intellectual? The trial was made, and near the close of the last period the Temperance movement commenced. This was followed by the preaching of Father Mathew, the apostle of the enterprise, and hosts of coadjutors whom his example inspired. A regular crusade was thus commenced against the popular iniquity; the resources of the platform and the press were plied as strenuously for the moral, as they have been for political reform; and temperance societies were established throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, whose members were soon numbered by tens of thousands. It had been discovered, also, that for a complete emancipation from the evil habit, the mere principle of temperance was insufficient; total abstinence therefore became the rule, and "touch not, taste not, handle not," the motto of the movement. It was thus alone that the confirmed drunkard could be reclaimed from his habit, and the weak and wavering from the temptations attendant upon friendly meetings, social feasts, and public merry-makings. In this way, the word "temperance" was made to assume a teetotal meaning. The

progress of this great collective movement during the present period of our history has been wonderful, although at first it was reckoned the most hopeless of all enterprises; and its success continues to be shown upon the thousands whom it has reclaimed from confirmed intemperance, and the myriads whom it has arrested on the threshold, and to whom it has proved an effectual monitor and safeguard. Its societies are felt to be cities of refuge, to which the proscribed drunkard can flee and be safe; and where his resolutions of amendment are strengthened an hundredfold by the new community into which he is welcomed, and the *esprit de corps* by which his future course is regulated. Let but this progress go onward as it has done, and the Temperance League may yet prove one of the most effective of all our social and moral reformers.

While such are the means employed upon that huge mass of our population which constitutes the lowest of our lower orders—so debased in its guilt, and so terrible in its brute force should it break loose—those which were devised for the orders immediately above the lowest were of a more intellectual character as well as earlier application. And first of these may be mentioned the exertions of the Press, which, at the commencement of this period, were chiefly impersonated in the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," and the publications of which were intended to form a cheap but complete library for the working man. Then issued those serial works which appeared in cheap weekly numbers, the *Penny Magazine*, the *Penny Cyclopaedia*, *Chambers's Journal*—works which, notwithstanding their humble appearance and aim, had for their contributors men of such high mark in literary talent and reputation as formed a guarantee for their usefulness as well as promise of success; and these works, which were circulated among our working classes in hundreds of thousands, conveyed lessons in every department of science, literature, and general knowledge under their most intelligible and attractive forms. Even the fine arts also were not neglected in these penny publications, and the sums expended upon the pictorial illustrations of the first and second of these works were to an amount greatly beyond any that had hitherto been bestowed upon the costly publications which had been only within the reach of the wealthiest. It was soon found that a new impulse had been created—that the demand for such productions would not only defray the large expenditure, but secure a good mercantile profit—and a rush of serial publications followed, of which the *Penny Magazine* and *Penny Cyclopaedia* were the exemplars, and in which such an amount of useful talented writing and highly-finished artistic engraving was con-

tained, as fifty-fold the amount of their price could not have previously purchased. It was a new temple of knowledge opened to the multitudes, of which the opening of the Crystal Palace that followed was nothing more than the natural sequel and consummation. The impulse of cheap publishing was extended to other works that hitherto, from their cost, had been sealed books to the multitude; and the writings of our best theologians, historians, poets, novelists, &c., were reproduced at a rate that made them accessible to all but the very poorest; so that the humble artisan could now afford to purchase such a library as none but the rich and the learned could have procured only a few years earlier. Indeed, none had now to remain ignorant and untaught but those who obstinately willed to be so. This expenditure in cheap books, also, instead of impoverishing seems to have enriched the purchasers, by introducing among them a more active industry and more provident economical habits. This was shown by the fact that £33,000,000 sterling lay deposited in the savings' banks, and that penny savings' banks were established as feeders to the former, and for the accommodation of those who could only deposit copper instead of silver. With the diffusion of literature and science by means of these cheap serial publications, it is interesting to mark that those connected with religion and morals had received a fresh impulse, and were keeping pace with the serials of a more light or alluring character. It was a hopeful proof that the public mind had been opened to something higher than mere literary amusement, or even intellectual instruction. Of the religious periodicals seventeen of the most popular have a circulation of 900,000. The tracts and other works of the temperance societies circulate at the rate of 300,000 weekly. The effect of all this reading upon the public mind is perceptible at a single glance. The trashy tales filled with silly romance and sickly German sentimentalism, which formed the light literature of the middle and lower classes, have disappeared. The more grave political works, by which they were taught to be discontented with their condition, and to look for no relief except in anarchy and revolution, have been thrown aside as waste paper. Those indecently immoral works and their vile embellishments, which found such an unblushing and profitable sale among our neighbours the French, and which threatened during the earlier part of this century to establish a footing among ourselves, have been so utterly discountenanced and put down that the greater part of society is ignorant of their existence. Even those flippant infidel writings of the Voltaire school, with which our literature was formerly inoculated in con-

nection with French immorality and French politics, are old-fashioned or obsolete; and, if a champion of unbelief puts forth his doubts, he knows that jesting will no longer serve for proof, and that his arguments will be subjected to a severe and sifting scrutiny. Works of a similar but less flagrant character—the Grub Street literature of the nineteenth century—have been driven from the middle to the lowest circles, where this abortive literature can scarcely secure its hold, or save itself from utter bankruptcy. While thus the course of reading has been so greatly changed, the intellectual character of the working classes has been elevated into a higher sphere. Let but a prize essay be announced for their competition, and who would judge that the articles returned were the productions of common workmen? And how would it have fared with such a trial half a century ago?

When we advance a step higher, and transfer our inquiry to the middle classes, we shall find that there also the same regenerating process has been going forward. This has been especially the case in the important matter of Education. From the want of a national system under the control of government, those who established themselves as preceptors were free so to do at their own good pleasure, and hence the strange instructors under which the boyhood of the present generation was in many cases nurtured. Our countrymen seem to have found out at last that, even if "reading and writing come by chance," the capacity of teaching these necessary branches is not thrown into the bargain, and that to give instruction is more difficult than to receive it. It was necessary, in the first instance, to teach the teachers, and establish such normal schools as had been set up in those countries where education is under state provision and government. Normal schools have accordingly been established in Britain, by which the standard of a common education has been raised, and its character improved, and where teachers for every department can be as carefully trained as the apprentices of any other trade or craft, and afterwards promoted according to their proficiency. It is true, indeed, that still we have scarcely a fourth part as many of these normal seminaries as one of the countries of Western Europe, and not a fourth part as many as are necessary to educate a sufficient number of teachers for the lower classes. But the reform commenced has been in the right direction; and, instead of complaining of the scantiness of the supply, we should rather congratulate ourselves that, in so short a time, so much progress has been effected. With instructors thus prepared, we have only to take into account the government schools already established, and the government inspectors who superintend them, to be

convinced that, although at a late hour, the reaction has commenced, under which our poor will at least be as well educated as those of other countries, and even the middle classes be able to vie in acquirements and general intelligence with the highest. With these educational appliances, which have chiefly reference to the young, we may take into account the numerous successful plans now in operation by which every class from the middle to the lowest is reached, and that tend to their general elevation and improvement. Among these we can only mention philosophical institutions, mechanics' institutions, lectureships for artisans, apprentices, &c., libraries and reading rooms, musical and art associations, for the most part supported entirely by the members themselves, and indicating in their encouragement and multiplication the benefits they have already imparted and the hopes they have inspired. Even the associations of certain London ladies for the improvement of the art of cookery, and the circulation among the lower classes of the best and cheapest modes of making good dishes, is a substantial sign of the true spirit of improvement. For where could reformation better commence than in domestic life, and amidst the enjoyments of a comfortable home?

In turning our attention to the progress of Science during the present period, we are at once arrested by the most wonderful invention of the day—that of the Electric Telegraph. Vapour had already been converted into the mightiest of mechanical forces, and gas into artificial sunshine; but it seemed the strangest achievement of all to manufacture lightning, and employ its speed for the conveyance of human thought. To what individual, or even to what country the honour of such a stupendous discovery is due, cannot be ascertained; and it has been claimed successively by Englishmen, by Germans, by Americans, by men of almost every country of Europe, who have all successively experimented upon this mode of communication, until the whole has terminated in the perfected telegraph of the present year. It thus resembles the art of printing or the manufacture of gunpowder—a hint or an idea started by we know not whom, but when once suggested, eagerly laid hold of, and acted upon simultaneously in different quarters, until an agency is matured by which the whole world may ultimately be brought into close communication.

After many experiments with the different kinds of electricity, it was found that the voltaic was the best, as being the most easily insulated, and therefore susceptible of the greatest range in its transmission. The voltaic battery, which is the agent of transmission, is of simple character, consisting of a series of pairs of plates of dissimilar metals, with a solution of acid and water, and

on making metallic connection between the plates, the electric current is immediately produced, and is transmitted to the distant station, where it produces the signals. Sometimes, instead of a voltaic battery, the power of a magnet, operating on a coil of wire, is employed to produce the current, and this is the agency employed in the magnetic telegraph. But whether the battery or the magnet be employed, the first and most obvious step was to establish the telegraph along the railway lines, and this has been done by the wires which accompany every railway. But such a means of correspondence could not long be confined to railway lines, and accordingly connecting wires began very speedily to branch off from the iron roads into the inland localities, until town was linked with town, and village with village, by a network of telegraphic wires that extended over the whole island.

This was much, but still not enough for Britain, whose greatest interests lie beyond her own shores. It was necessary for her welfare, that the extent of her telegraphic communications should be equal to the range of her commerce, and the remoteness of her colonial possessions, so that she might as freely communicate with the great cities on the Continent, and her settlements in the four quarters of the globe, as with her own towns and districts. But could the mysterious emissary pass through the ocean depths as well as over rocks and mountains? At an early period in the invention of the electric telegraph, the possibility of transmitting the voltaic current under water was the subject of study in India by Dr. O'Shaughnessy, and to the success of his experiments in the river Hooghly in 1839 the merit of the discovery has been generally assigned. It was found that the resistless power could pass onward unchecked through the water as well as through the earth and air, and that nothing would be needed except such tractors as could resist the corrosive agency of the water, or the submarine rocks and sand with which they would be in contact. To make subaqueous conductors was therefore the next attempt, and this was accomplished without much difficulty. These submarine cables for international communication where the countries are separated by the sea, consist of a core of copper wire surrounded by gutta percha; and the rope thus formed is surrounded and finally cased with an armour of stout iron wires. With these protections, a cable of the requisite length is extended from bank to bank, or from shore to shore, conveying state secrets or commercial tidings as safely and rapidly as the wires along the railway. The progress of the discovery, and the uses to which it was turned, were commensurate with its importance, so that before June,

1854, such connecting conductors in the form of wire ropes were laid between Dover and Calais, between Dover and Ostend, between Dublin and Holyhead, between Donaghadee and Portpatrick, and between England and Holland, and Denmark, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, and Piedmont and Corsica. The last great attempt, which was to connect Britain with the United States of America by a gigantic submarine cable extending across the Atlantic, has indeed proved a failure, but hopes are still entertained that this will be ultimately accomplished.

The form of writing in which the messages are conveyed by the electric telegraph has been not the least difficulty of the invention, the aim being to discover a kind of short-hand or cypher that could be quickly noted and easily read off; and after many experiments, three different plans were matured, which have now come into general use. The first of these in priority of time, was that of Professor Wheatstone and Mr. Cooke, of which the first trial was made on the 25th June, 1837, and is commonly called the "needle instrument." It is founded upon the principle of the deviation of the magnetic needle when under the influence of the electric current; and the operation is performed by one or two needles, by the movements of which the letters of the alphabet are indicated. The message thus expressed is read at the rate of from twenty to forty words per minute. This kind of needle-telegraph is the one most used in England and Scotland, over a compass of about 25,000 miles of wire. But that which is most extensively used, both on the continent of Europe and in America, is known as the Morse telegraph, and operates on the principle of electro-magnetism. A small lever, attached to the armature of an electro-magnet, is attracted at the instant that the current is transmitted, and the signals are given by means of the "clicking" sounds which it produces in its alternating movements. Formerly one end of the lever was made to produce a series of indentations upon a slip of paper, and hence it was termed the "recording instrument;" but this method is now generally abandoned in favour of the system by sound. By a third method, known as the "type-printing telegraph," the motions of the lever are so connected with an intricate system of mechanism that the message is actually printed, as it arrives, in Roman letters. A fourth plan, called the "chemical telegraph," was the invention of Bain, an obscure clockmaker from Watten in Caithness, and is founded upon the principle of electro-chemical decomposition, a mark being produced by the point of an iron stylus on chemically prepared paper at the instant of the transmission of the successive waves of electricity from the distant station.

The same wondrous power of the electric agent in writing and printing, irrespective of its benefit of swift transmission, was found available for the service of the fine arts. We allude to the art of Electrotpe, which was invented less than twenty years ago by Jacobi, a Russian, and Spencer, an Englishman, simultaneously. The processes by which it works are both delicate and numerous; and therefore we shall state, in general terms, that the agent employed is a voltaic battery, which operates by precipitating a metal in chemical solution upon a given object: the metal so dissolved, and applied in a continuous layer upon the object, may be made to adhere, in which case it supersedes the old processes of plating and gilding; but when applied without adhering, it gives an accurate likeness or facsimile of the surface on which it is laid. In this manner, it produces exact imitations of coins and medals, copies stamps, seals, and plaster casts, imitates fruits and vegetables, casts moulds for the foundry, and reproduces printed characters, copperplate engravings, wood-cuts, and daguerreotype pictures. The first use of it made in England by Mr. Spencer was in letterpress-printing, and this appears now to be one of its most valuable applications; but the principle once obtained, suggested many other purposes to which the electrotpe might be applied, and the processes accordingly became more complex and refined, until the reproduction of the highest works of art in sculpture and engraving was the result.

While the lightning has thus been converted into a letter-writer, courier, printer, and engraver, the sun, by an almost equally marvellous process, has been transformed into a draughtsman and portrait-painter. That beautiful invention, the camera obscura, had long been known, by which the scenery of a whole city or landscape could be collected together by a skilful arrangement of lenses, and reflected in all its brightness and distinctness upon a whitened surface, within a darkened tent or apartment. By this aid, the artist or the traveller had steadily before him the objects he wished to delineate; and he knew that a transcript of these, as they presented themselves in the condensed resemblance, would be more faithful to the reality than the artistic copy taken from the original itself. But these beautiful pictures, and the living moving objects with which they were animated, were like shadows upon the wall—they disappeared with every change of light and shade, and left no trace behind them. Could they not be arrested in all their vividness, and stamped upon the receiving surface into a permanent painting? The possibility of effecting this was first suggested by the blackening of salts of silver, as in the case of

those fluids used as marking-inks, and the permanent writing they impressed on linen or cotton cloth; and the hint thus caught, was improved into the invention of Photography.

Of the departments of this art, the first place is due to the daguerreotype, so called from its inventor, M. Daguerre, a Frenchman. After experimenting upon the subject for several years, he announced his discovery to the world in 1839. By it, a surface of pure silver being caused to combine with iodine and also with bromine, a delicate film is produced on the surface of the plate, extremely sensitive to light, and capable of retaining every image impressed on it. This was the first principle of the invention; but the delicacy and durability of the impression depend upon subsequent preparations too numerous and too minute to specify. This was much; and the first daguerreotypes that were produced were gladly welcomed as the beginning of a new era in pictorial art. But when the costliness of the material and the difficulty of the process would have checked the multiplication of these sun-pictures, it was discovered that other substances were capable of being so impressed; and the calotype, otherwise called the talbotype, from the name of its inventor, Mr. Fox Talbot, came into general use. By this plan a card or sheet of paper, or plate of glass, after undergoing a certain preparation, and being sensitized in a bath of nitrate of silver, could receive and retain the image in the camera obscura, and be capable of producing copies of itself. Such were the origin and first principles of those two forms of photography, the productions of which are now so numerous as to be found in almost every house, and which possess a fidelity of resemblance to the original, and a delicacy of execution, which leave the efforts of the painter and engraver far behind. The value of the invention, not only for its own productions, but as a powerful auxiliary to the fine arts, was speedily discovered; and photography, recognized as a separate art, has been yearly improving both in its processes and its productions. Briefly we may state, that these improvements resolve themselves into the following heads: 1. The preparation of the sensitive surface; 2. Its exposure to the image sought to be impressed upon it by the camera obscura; 3. The development of the image by chemical appliances; 4. The fixing of the image by dissolving out the sensitive surface, so that the light shall no further affect it. But it is not merely as an aid to the arts of sculpture and painting, or as a cheap ready substitute for their costly productions, that photography is a useful invention. By it the astronomer has already done something, and may hope to do more, in producing pictures of the phenomena of

the heavens in all their transient aspects and revolutions. By it the meteorologist can secure a register of the minutest changes of night and day. By it the lecturer and schoolmaster can exhibit the faithful transcripts of those objects which mere language would be insufficient to describe. By it even justice can arrest the fugitive criminal, by sending forth veritable copies of his likeness, instead of the vague or equivocal descriptions which were usually contained in the printed hue and cry.

Among the physical sciences, in which such advances have been made during the present period, Chemistry occupies the foremost place. Nothing less than this could be expected, when the materials of its study are the air we breathe, the food we eat, the liquids we drink—the elementary bodies in their simple or compound state, by which abundance, health, and comfort are secured, and sickness and pain averted. And yet, for thousands of years men were contented to follow what was blindly called the law of nature, and apply its rules without knowing why or wherefore; until towards the close of the last century, when the characteristics of the elementary bodies or simple substances which enter into the composition of what we see around us were heedfully investigated and classified. It was only then that chemistry was resolved into a regular science, and studied with a due appreciation of its importance. The revelations with which this search has been rewarded are now being turned into daily account, by an infinity of ingenious processes, from the manufacture of the finest pigments to the baking of a loaf. But British research would not rest contented with the mere honour of discovery, or the gratification of an intellectual curiosity; and hence, every important new result to which its inquiries have arrived, has been combined with the *cui bono?* The satisfactory answer has been given in the operations of bleaching, dyeing, and calico-printing, by which the value of our commercial commodities has been so greatly enhanced; in the preparation of gunpowder, salt, drugs, soap, paints, perfumery, &c., and in the manufacture of porcelain, pottery-ware, glass, paper, &c. In the improvements which are daily taking place upon these articles, the eminently practical character of British intellect has maintained its wonted ascendancy, while the world at large has been benefited by the fruits of this idiosyncrasy.

It is not, however, to our manufactures alone that the discoveries of chemistry are applied. The necessities of a growing population, the desire of profit, even the honourable ambition of producing a blade of corn where none grew before, have turned our national energies to improved modes of Agriculture, and the effect has

been exhibited in the reclaiming of waste lands, and in more abundant harvests from the fields where the old processes of cultivation have been superseded by the new. The agriculturist has now been taught that vegetation is a chemical as well as a vital process—that the vegetable world has life as well as the animal. A still more difficult task which he has to learn, is the selecting and apportioning of the different kinds of the plant-food to the nature of the soil and the vegetation that is to be sustained on it. And then, again, when a soil is exhausted, he must be skilful in the application of those particular kinds of manure which are suited to its nature and condition, and the best fitted for renewing its strength and restoring its nutritious properties. Thus, the farmer can no longer plant and sow indiscriminately, or according to his own wishes, or scatter the manure-heap at random; if he intends to pay the doubled or tripled rent of his acres, and have a comfortable reversion, he must abandon that slothful world-wide adage, “our fathers did so before us,” and cultivate his fields according to the new rules and processes by which the whole system of agriculture has been revolutionized. He has thus become in some degree a chemist without knowing it; and a skilful employer of its materials, without learning their Greek names, or subjecting them to a scientific analysis. But he knows that his ground yields thrice the amount which it vouchsafed to his grandfather, and that this increase has been owing to the introduction of those changes which his grandfather would have scorned as new-fangled, or condemned as a distrusting of Providence. The same redundancy of a growing population, which compels the Chinese to girdle their mountains with terraces, cultivate every inch of soil, and treasure up every particle of waste matter for manure, is apprehended also for Britain; but to encounter this emergency, the well-tried energy and industry of its children are aided by the rich resources of chemical science, under which the rock itself is becoming a yielding soil, and the morass a dry fertile territory. The renewal of an exhausted soil, and the production of a profitable rotation of crops, are now the most important questions in our new agricultural science; and the creation of artificial, as well as the improvement of natural manures, with the best adjustment of them to the particular soil and season, are the lessons chiefly studied by the young farmers of the present day. Of these artificial manures which have been largely used in modern agriculture, directed by chemical science, the principal have been kelp or barilla, guano, bones or bone-dust, sulphate of lime or gypsum, nitrates, potash, and lime. For the further fertilization of our fields, and the still greater increase of their produce, a question is

now at issue, in which the interests of British agriculture are deeply involved—we mean the conversion of the sewage of our cities into manure. The condition of the Thames at London, and of the Clyde at Glasgow, and especially the state of those inland towns where no neighbouring river can be converted into a drain and common sewer, has arrested the general attention; and chemical research is actively employed about the best means for deodorizing this sewage, and converting it from an increasing source of miasma and pestilence into a means of agricultural abundance.

In the science of Astronomy, England has not been unmindful of her distinction as the birth-place and home of Sir Isaac Newton; and the discoveries of Sir William and Sir John Herschel, Dr. Maskelyne, Mr. Bishop, Mr. Hind, Mr. Lassell, Mr. Airy of Greenwich Observatory, and Mr. Adams of Cambridge, have largely added to a science which so much depends upon close patient observation, and an accumulation of facts alone—whose infinity of objects thousands or even millions of years spent in watching and registering would be insufficient to comprise. Much, however, has been done during the present period, in the enlargement of star maps and star catalogues, so that the cosmical relations of the whole heaven have been defined, and the earth's place in it as a mere point in the universe ascertained and fixed. Nor has the practical been lost sight of in the contemplation of these remote and inaccessible objects, and the discoveries of astronomy have been turned to the essentially British purposes of navigation, by calculating and fixing more accurately the position of a ship at sea. The steps by which this important object was attained, have been carefully noted in that national work, the *Nautical Almanac*, which was commenced in 1767, in connection with the parliamentary commission for the “discovery of the longitude at sea.” As astronomy was of such vital importance to the commercial interests and political welfare of our country, the study of the science was promoted by the establishment of the “Royal Astronomical Society of London,” having for its office-bearers the chief astronomers of Britain, and for its associates the principal astronomers of Europe. Another society, by which the preceding has been greatly benefited, named the “British Association for the Advancement of Science,” was opened in 1831. Our chief observatories are those of Greenwich, Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, and the Cape of Good Hope; and from the principal one (that of Greenwich) there are telegraphic wires connected with the wires of the principal railways, by which its communications, and especially its time-signals, are conveyed over the island. But

notwithstanding these public institutions for the advancement of the science, some of the most important astronomical discoveries of the present period have been made by amateurs, at their own private expense or by the aid of their friends. Such has been especially the case with Mr. Lassell, a merchant of Liverpool, who built an observatory for his own use, and discovered an eighth satellite to Saturn, one to Neptune, and two to Uranus—Mr. Hind, who discovered many new asteroids—and Mr. Adams, who in 1846 discovered the new planet Neptune. The accession of this last-named planet to our system was the result of abstract mathematical reasoning so profound, and analysis so subtle and searching, as to show that future discovery is not left wholly dependent on observation and telescopic aid. But one of the most striking indications of the love of astronomical science for its own sake, was the construction of Lord Rosse's gigantic telescope. The luminous masses called nebulae, so thickly sown over the whole heaven, had perplexed scientific inquiry; and although Sir William Herschel mapped 2500 of these mysterious star-clouds, and his son Sir John added 500 clusters to the celestial chart, the nature of these luminous strata, which were concluded to be neither fixed stars nor planets, still continued unknown. To add also to this perplexity, some of these nebulae, which at first appeared only shining spots, presented, when viewed through powerful telescopes, the appearance of distinct stars, while others, though subjected to the same scrutiny, were still as incomprehensible as before. It was chiefly to explore these dim, remote, tantalizing masses that Lord Rosse constructed his wondrous telescope, with the labour and anxiety of years. The tube has a focal length of fifty-three feet, and a clear aperture of six feet; of its two specula or mirrors, one weighs $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons, and the other a little more than 4; and the instrument itself is placed between two immense piers, 70 feet long and nearly 50 feet high. But whilst the immense range of this cyclopean telescope led to remarkable discoveries among the hitherto unexplored regions of nebulae and star-dust, it also revealed dimly beyond them new regions of mystery, that demand yet larger and more improved powers of vision. But the ardour of science has only been stimulated by these past successes, and fresh endeavours are certain to follow, by which new fields of the boundless universe will be opened, and the harmonious laws of their administration be more amply and correctly understood.

Amongst the youngest of the physical sciences is Geology, which may be said to have originated in the early part of the present century. Its object is to investigate the ancient natural history of the earth. The inquiries of the science

divide themselves into two branches—viz., physical geology, or the examination of the mineral structure, formation, and succession of the rocks constituting the crust of the earth, and the laws which have regulated their origin and distribution; and paleontology, or the study of the fossil or petrified remains of extinct animals and plants embedded in the ancient sedimentary rocks. Geology thus derives its materials as a science from the three kingdoms of nature, mineralogy, zoology, and botany being its principal tributaries. On account of the recentness of its origin, as well as the extent and importance of its range, a more than usually ample detail of the history of a science which is only coeval with ourselves will naturally be expected.

From an early period the more obvious phenomena of geology attracted the attention of the cultivators of natural science in the enlightened nations of the eastern and the western world; but it was not till the other physical sciences were established upon a solid basis that it began to assume a philosophical form. Previous speculations on the subject usually resolved themselves into cosmogonies, or attempts to account for the origin of the globe, an inquiry manifestly beyond the range of scientific investigation. Towards the close of the last century, the celebrated Dr. Hutton of Edinburgh published his theory of the earth, a work in which a clear conception of the legitimate objects of the science was first announced in this country. Throwing aside the bewildering dreams of the cosmogonists, Hutton set out by declaring that geology was in no way concerned with questions as to the origin of things; and although his work is avowedly theoretical, his theory was founded upon a large induction of facts, and anticipated some of the most important principles which have been generalized from the multiplied observations of the last fifty years. Geology thus born, could only, like other sciences, be developed by opposition; and this, fortunately, was not long wanting. A lively controversy was waged for a considerable period between the followers of Hutton and those of Werner, a German professor of mineralogy, on the merits of their respective theories—the latter school ascribing the formation of the ancient rocks of every description to chemical precipitates from a chaotic fluid, the followers of Werner being therefore named Neptunists; while the disciples of Hutton called in the agency of subterranean fires to account for the production of the crystalline or unstratified rocks, and the elevation of submarine strata, and were hence called Vulcanists. Werner, however, had the merit of first determining the order of the succession of rocks, in so far as their superposition could be ascertained within a limited

area, by their mineral characters. In the meantime, William Smith, a mineral surveyor, succeeded by a series of independent researches, pursued under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, in establishing the succession and relative antiquity of the secondary rocks in England by their organic contents. A new and efficacious instrument of investigation was thus placed for the first time in the hands of the geologist, enabling him to connect the vital with the physical phenomena of a science of the earth, and geology, now brought within the pale of inductive reasoning, ceased to be speculative and visionary. A neutral school took its rise in London in 1807, in the establishment of the Geological Society, the members of which formally agreed to abstain from theories, to devote themselves to the accumulation of facts and observations, and patiently to await the results at some future period. In the year following, France contributed its share to the infant science, by giving to the world the great work of Cuvier and Brogniart, on the organic remains found in the neighbourhood of Paris. Geology is therefore indebted to three different nations for its advancement, in the early part of the century, in three of its great branches of inquiry—to Germany, for accurate views of mineralogical geology; to England, for the classification of stratified rocks by their fossils; and to France, for the first light thrown upon the deposits of the tertiary period. The science has ever since been sedulously cultivated in Europe and America, and has grown with unexampled rapidity, every year adding to the breadth and stability of its foundations, and the depth and significance of its results. The observations promulgated by the founders of the science have been confirmed and extended over a large portion of the globe. The same kinds of rocks are found to recur in groups, with unfailling regularity, from the equator to the pole. By the study of the ancient forms of life, the geologist has been able to classify the stratified rocks into great life-periods, each characterized by forms of animals and plants peculiar to itself, yet all exhibiting recognizable features of a plan of structure, which, although subject to a boundless diversity of adaptations, shows that the laws of organization and of life were the same in the remotest epochs that they are now, and that the same infinite wisdom and goodness have been manifested in the creation and preservation of living beings in all ages. While geology confirms the testimony of revealed truth as to the comparatively recent period at which man appeared on the earth, it also affords unequivocal evidence of the previous existence of tribes of animals and plants, which were successively removed from the surface of

the globe, at intervals of inconceivable duration, and replaced by new races, suited to new physical conditions, and called into being by successive acts of creative power.

Apart from its philosophical interest as a science, geology possesses an economic value which is attracting the attention of the governments of Europe and America, and leading to the adoption of measures for rendering geological observation subservient to the development of mineral resources. The ordnance survey of the British Isles, which has been for many years in progress, now embraces the geological survey of the country, and the results are laid down in the ordnance maps. A museum of economic geology has been established in London along with a school of mines, to which is added a mining record office, where an account is kept of all subterranean operations, and the value of their products. Similar surveys have been in progress for many years in more than half of the United States. In private enterprise, much money is now saved to landed proprietors, which was formerly wasted upon efforts to discover coal in rocks, where the geologist would at once pronounce such a discovery to be impossible. Agriculture is also reaping solid benefits from the practical application of mineralogical geology to the improvement of the soil. The principles of the science have in like manner been made available in the construction of artesian wells. While in these and other ways geological science is ministering to our material prosperity, comfort, and health, the discoveries of the science are subjects of growing interest amongst all classes of the people. As a subject of study, geology ranks next to astronomy in the stupendous nature of the problems it presents to human inquiry. Its noblest triumphs are to be found in its contributions to natural theology, and the light which it reflects on the being and attributes of God. In no country has the science been cultivated with more zeal and success than in Great Britain; and the names of Lyell, Buckland, Murchison, Sedgwick, Phillips, Hopkins, Hugh Miller, and a host of others, will always be proudly associated with the period of our history, that witnessed the rise of the stately fabric of the modern geology.

In the period now under consideration (1830–1860), or rather from the commencement of the general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon to the present day, enterprise, having for its object Geographical and Scientific research, acquired an unusual degree of vigour and persistence. Discovery, it might be supposed, must grow rare as the world grows old, and little remains to be discovered; but the fact is, that the world, considered as an object of inquiry, never

grows old: intellectual progress extending the range of vision, or changing the point of view, continually finds novelty in fields apparently exhausted.

When Great Britain in 1815 disbanded her army and reduced her navy, the pressure of the now unoccupied aspirants after fame and adventure was felt chiefly at the admiralty, and by the African Association. At the admiralty a secretary, fervently admiring the achievements of Hudson, Baffin, and Frobisher, and disposed to revive the long-exploded project of a north-west passage to India, aided with his influence the professional ardour which sought employment at any risk. The consequence was that four ships were fitted out in 1818, two to proceed to the North Pole, and two to Baffin's Bay, the latter expedition under the command of Captain John Ross, to endeavour to make their way to the Pacific. This was the first of a series of expeditions to the Polar regions, so remarkable in themselves, and through the force of circumstances so perseveringly, though unwillingly continued, as to deserve being recounted somewhat in detail.

Both these expeditions totally failed to discover the proposed passage, but as the existence of the range of mountains, said by Captain Ross to stretch across Lancaster Sound, and close it on the west, was denied by his officers, the disappointment in that quarter tended rather to inflame than to damp curiosity; and in the following year (1819), two ships were sent out under Parry, who had accompanied Ross, to repeat the attempt to penetrate through Lancaster Sound. At the same time Franklin, who with Buchan had sought in vain for an open sea about the North Pole, was sent overland from Hudson's Bay to explore the coasts eastward of the Coppermine River. Parry's expedition was remarkably successful. Though he did not make the passage to the Pacific, he crossed the meridian of 110° W., and obtained the £5000 voted by parliament for that feat. Franklin's party endured dreadful sufferings, which were ill compensated by the exploration of a few hundred miles of coast.

Encouraged by the popularity attending Parry's bold advance westwards, the government no longer hesitated to fit out expeditions for the Arctic regions. In 1821–23, the same officer examined Repulse Bay and the neighbouring shores. In 1823, a vessel, despatched to enable Captain Sabine to make experiments with the pendulum as near as possible to the pole, reached lat. $80^{\circ} 20'$ N. In 1824 Captain Lyon sailed to examine Wager Inlet. In 1824–25, Parry commanded a third expedition, which had less success even than his second. At the same time

Franklin repeated, with better issue, his attempt to survey the northern coasts of the American continent, and was most effectually aided by Dr. Richardson. The boats of a vessel sent to the Polar Sea by Behring's Straits to co-operate with Franklin, traced in 1826–27 the coast of the continent eastward till within 150 miles of the most western point reached by that traveller. In 1827, Captain Parry started on his fourth voyage, his design being to travel over the ice from Spitzbergen to the pole, but he found it impossible to get beyond $82^{\circ} 45'$, as the ice drifted southwards, while he travelled over it in the opposite direction.

So many disappointments after a flush of success produced a revulsion of feeling, and the government now resolved not to equip any more Arctic expeditions. But Captain J. Ross, aided by private munificence, started in 1829, discovered the peninsula which he named Boothia Felix, and having spent three successive winters in the ice, returned in 1833. His long absence awakened public interest. Captain Back, sent to seek intelligence of him, descended the Great Fish River (1833–35), and in 1836 examined to little purpose the inlets on the northern side of Hudson's Bay. The Hudson's Bay Company also despatched an expedition in 1836–39, which fulfilled its purpose of completing the survey of the northern shores of the continent, from Behring's Straits to Boothia Felix, and the subsequent expedition of Dr. Rae from the same quarter carried this survey still farther to the north.

The comparative success and small cost of the land expeditions, led by experienced fur-traders, proved the folly of sending out ships to winter in the ice, and it was generally understood that Arctic voyages were at an end, when it was announced, in 1845, that Sir J. Franklin was about to repeat the attempt to find the north-west passage. This expedition was probably conceded as a boon to the aged secretary of the admiralty on his bidding farewell to office. Three years elapsed and nothing was heard of this expedition; government then, aroused by the general alarm, sent forth three expeditions in search of the missing one, viz., one to Behring's Straits, that of Sir J. Richardson overland, and Sir James Ross to the Boothia peninsula. These were followed by the expeditions of Collinson and M'Clure, of Austin and Ommaney, of Belcher and Kellett, and finally of M'Clintock, besides several others not fitted out by the government. M'Clure alone passed through from Behring's Straits to Baffin's Bay, and may thus be said to have discovered the north-west passage, and M'Clintock ascertained the fate of the missing ships: Sir J. Franklin died a natural death in the strait which bears his name, and his com-

pauons, wintering in King William's Land, which was explored by James Ross in 1834, were destroyed by cold, hunger, and disease.

Thus in the course of forty years at least fifty ships were sent out with picked crews, and provisioned for two or three years, to solve a problem of no practical value. Their narratives, however, all bear witness to the energy and good discipline of the British navy. The expedition of Sir James Ross to the Antarctic regions in 1844, had for its object scientific observations, which determined approximately the position of the south magnetic pole.

The activity of the African Association was for obvious reasons less enduring. In 1818 the region south of Tripoli, extending to Murzuk and Ghât, was explored by Ritchie and Lyon, and the latter published a narrative containing much valuable information. It still remained, however, to cross the desert to Negroland. This was undertaken, in 1823, by Denham and Clapperton, who were well received by the ruler of Bornu, the first of these travellers penetrating southwards, while the other proceeded westwards to Haussa and Sokatu, the Fellatah capital. The latter point presenting peculiar attractions, Clapperton had no sooner returned, by way of Tripoli, from his first expedition, than he started on a second, to reach Sokatu from the coast of Guinea, and to trace the great river of that country, the Quorra, to the sea. The latter and more important part of the zealous traveller's plans was frustrated by his death, but his servant, Richard Lander, in returning to the coast, traced the river, which at the present day is popularly, but with very little reason, called the Niger (the Joliba of Park, who descended it to Boussa), to the Bight of Benin. Several attempts were made by Laing, Gray, Doehard, and others, to penetrate to the interior through the country of the Mandingoes, and the first-named of these travellers was murdered on his way from Twat to Timbuktu; but as none of these attempts had such results as would entitle them to more than a passing notice in a brief sketch, we hasten on to enterprises of more recent date, and of greater importance.

In 1847 Mr. Richardson, connected with the press in Malta, succeeded, by an excursion to Ghât, south-west of Tripoli, and by papers on the trade of that region, in attracting the notice of the foreign office, and his offer to lead an expedition to Bornu was accepted. Two Germans, Drs. Barth and Overweg, were charged with the scientific branches of the mission. After much waste of time and loss of property, the expedition arrived on the borders of Negroland, and there separated, its members pursuing each his own course. Richardson died soon after. Over-

weg lived to visit Tacoba, and to sail on Lake Tsad, but left at his decease no legible journal of his proceedings. All the objects of the expedition devolved therefore on Dr. Barth, in whom resolution and physical strength were fortunately united to a spirit of inquiry. He penetrated southwards to Adamawa, in lat. $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., the most southern possession of the conquering Fellatah, crossing in his way the great river Benue, at its junction with the Faro. The Benue is the upper course of the large river which joins the Quorra in lat. $7^{\circ} 50'$, and which, through some mistake of its first discoverers, received the name of the Chadda. The discovery of a navigable stream flowing through the most fertile countries of Negroland, and easily accessible, was of vast importance, and measures have been taken to turn it to account.

Dr. Barth made an excursion to Baghirme, crossing two navigable streams, which fall united into Lake Tsad. He also spent a considerable time in Haussa, and in the Fellatah kingdom of Sokatu. He then travelled south-westwards to the Quorra, and crossing it took the southern road to Timbuktu, where he spent some months, and then returned along the northern bank of the river to Haussa and Bornu. The most curious of his multifarious chapters are, perhaps, those which describe the tribes of the desert and the mixed races of Asben.

For many years a trade of unknown extent has been carried on between the colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the native tribes scattered over the adjacent interior. The Cape traders are often absent for two years, and return from distances of which they take little account, with their waggons laden with skins and ivory. It is said that in 1837 a Boer drove his waggon to the Zambeze. All these travellers heard of the great lake in the interior; and when English sportsmen, incited by the example of Captain Harris, began to frequent the country of the Bechuana in pursuit of large game, it was easy to foresee the direction in which exploration would advance.

In 1849 the sportsmen Oswell and Murray, accompanied by the missionary Livingston, first reached the banks of the Lake Ngami. But then, as well as in the following year, they were defeated in the attempt to reach the country of great rivers, said to lie further north. In May, 1853, however, having vanquished all difficulties, they stood on the banks of the great river, which they then called the Sesheke, and conjectured to be identical with the Zambeze of the eastern coast. Animated by this conclusion, Livingston ascended the river (now called the Leeambye), towards the N.N.W., crossed the Casabi and Quango into Angola, and at Loanda, the capital

of the Portuguese colony, announced that he had discovered the Zambeze flowing through the middle of the continent. On his return to the interior down the Leeambye, in 1855, he descended this river to the falls, where it is dammed up by a rocky ledge, then went north-west over the highlands, till he came on the Zambeze, which he descended to the sea, and pronounced it to be navigable for large vessels to the interior. Having returned, however, to the Zambeze, in 1858, to complete his discoveries, he has ascertained that river to be navigable only in boats of light draught, and not much further than Tete. The connection of the Zambeze with the Leeambye remains still unproved.

The existence of a lake of great extent, from north to south, called Nyassi, on the eastern side of Africa, was proved in 1845 by Mr. Cooley, who produced, in 1852, a map showing the route to Ujiji, on the shores of the lake. The particulars collected by the missionaries near Mombas gave this inland sea an enormous extent. Thus magnified, and situate too, as it was supposed, in the famed region of Monomuzi, it is no wonder that it should attract travellers of the more enterprising and enduring class. In 1857, Captains Burton and Speke commenced their journey into the interior from the coast near Zanzibar, and after nearly eight months of severe toil, reached Ujiji, and navigated the lake, called by them Tanganyika. Captain Speke also visited another lake (Nyanza) lying to the north-east of the former, to which hearsay information attached much importance. It is to be feared that these travellers, unacquainted with the language of the natives, have too often made use of their experience only to decorate their own preconceived opinions. The country and great empire of Uniamoezi, described by them, is certainly unreal; and we hesitate in following them to the supposed southern limits of Lake Tanganyika, and the countries to the south-west. But they have unintentionally proved that there are no difficulties or dangers to be encountered in this part of Africa which a prudent traveller may not easily overcome.

Respecting Australia, we might briefly say that the discovery of its interior has been effected entirely during the last thirty years. If our acquaintance with that interior be still incomplete, yet it has advanced with astonishing rapidity. The mountains first explored by Hume, thirty years ago, are now thickly peopled with miners. The rivers Murray, Darling, and Murrumbidgee, now navigated, were discovered and traced downwards by Major Mitchell in 1836. In the glens of the granitic mountains, about the sources of these rivers, lie the auriferous deposits which have rendered Australia the richest gold-

producing country in the world, California alone being excepted. Eyre explored the whole southern plain from east to west. Sturt examined the desert interior north of Spencer's Gulf. Mitchell, and subsequently Leichhardt, explored vast tracts of comparatively good country on the eastern side. The western side was penetrated by the expedition of Grey and Lushington. Rae and others have surveyed the interior near Swan River; while Gregory has thoroughly examined the vicinity of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the northern shores.

The New World, it might be thought, is by this time fully known, and offers no longer any room for geographical discovery. Even the most inhospitable wilds of North America are constantly visited by the indefatigable hunter and fur-trader. But civilization, the main-spring of which is intercourse, requires exact knowledge, and therefore we feel justified in classing among new and important discoveries the survey recently made by Captain Palliser, between the Red River (flowing into Lake Winnipeg) and the shores of British Columbia, which has resulted in the discovery of more than one pass through the Rocky Mountains, in which the construction of a railway would be practicable. The line thus carefully surveyed cannot fall much short of 1500 miles in extent. As the auriferous veins or detritus which have stimulated so wonderfully the growth of California, and have raised St. Francisco in a little time to the rank of a rich and populous city, seem to extend also into British Columbia, and to hold out promises of rapid growth, the practicability of a railway communication with it across the continent is highly interesting and important.

To the same class of scientific labours, which completes the work of discovery, belongs the trigonometrical survey of the British Islands, which, growing continually more perfect in its execution, is now approaching completion. The triangulation of India, too, is complete, and embraces an arc of the meridian of sixteen degrees. It will materially aid in the construction of railways, which are destined to infuse new life into the industry of India.

Another branch of scientific labour, more closely allied to discovery, is that of the hydrographical surveyor, who is in general little taken notice of, though he works hard for the obvious benefit of mankind. It is a surprising fact, that within the last forty years probably not less than two-thirds of the accessible coasts of our terraqueous globe have been surveyed by officers of the British navy. We can speak with certainty as to the coasts of the British Islands, Newfoundland, the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, the shores of Arabia

and Africa, Australia and New Zealand, America (excepting the United States), the West Indian Islands, and several groups in the Pacific. The survey of the Chinese and Japanese Seas is now (1860) in progress. When the nature of this work is considered, the perseverance and skill required for its execution, and its permanent effect on general commerce and the welfare of the whole human race, it seems entitled to our highest admiration.

Hitherto we have contemplated the improvement of the sciences in their application to the arts of peace, and to the benefit of humanity at large. But we cannot yet flatter ourselves with the thought that the good has been wholly unalloyed; and while in some cases this improvement has merely ministered to the selfishness of our nature, in one striking instance it has been made the agent of man's vindictiveness and love of destruction. We allude, of course, to the changes of modern Warfare, by which it has been rendered more deadly and ruinous than ever, and the beginning of which we had occasion slightly to notice in our account of the campaigns of the Crimea and India. By the introduction of the Minié and Enfield rille, a fearful certainty is given to the aim of the distant marksman; while against the destructive and far-reaching cannonade of the Armstrong and Whitworth artillery, it seems as if no human architecture could stand. We shudder as we read of the rilled cannon-ball winging its flight for miles, striking the object aimed at as if it had been but a few yards off, and crushing men and ramparts until its course is exhausted. While science has thus increased the range, and given certainty to the deadliness of the soldier's missiles, the electric telegraph has been brought into full play for the movements of the campaign and the operations of the battle-field, so that the plan at headquarters can be instantly communicated over the whole range of action. War as a science has been changed, but only by becoming tenfold more ruinous; and while the means of offence have been thus improving, the means of defence have been undergoing a correspondent alteration. On land, the ramparts of stone that were lately thought to be impregnable, are to be superseded by stronger and more scientific masonry, or exchanged for artificial mounds of earth, which artillery cannot shake; and steam-ships are already launched and ready for action, so completely covered with an armour of malleable iron, that the cannon-ball at certain angles rebounds from them without inflicting serious damage. And whither is this warlike revolution to conduct us? How is it to terminate? "In universal peace," is the hopeful reply. Men will no longer go forth to war when the certainty of being slain be-

comes absolute, and when little chance of personal distinction is left to them amidst the wholesale and indiscriminate carnage. In the meantime, one great advantage is secured by the change before the arrival of the millennial day. It is, that mere brute force and courage can no longer be the only available arm of warfare, or a civilized nation be overrun by one that is barbarous. Science is now the great military arbiter of the destiny of nations, and their civilization has become their best and surest protection. The glory and the triumphs of such conquerors as Attila, Tamerlane, and Genghiz Khan have for ever passed away.

We have thus simply indicated rather than described the intellectual tendencies of the present day. Feeling as if enough had already been achieved in general literature, and in the sciences of ethics and metaphysics, the mind has sought new worlds to conquer, and in the plenitude of its might and activity has laid hold of the physical sciences, in the assured confidence of a similar success. And this too, chiefly with a reference, not to the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity or restless mental activity, but practical and substantial results. The spirit of the age is eminently utilitarian, and not a particle of matter escapes its research with the view of turning it to a useful account. To abbreviate time and space by the wondrous agency of steam and electricity, to increase the measure and multiply the means of subsistence and comfort, to improve health and lengthen life—even to extinguish war by so enlarging its destructive agencies, as to make war itself a hateful and a losing game to all parties—these have been the chief attempts of the last thirty years, under which the world has been revolutionized, and a new career commenced, the end of which it is overwhelming to anticipate.

With such a tendency, and amidst such successes, it is not to be wondered at if the previous zeal for the cultivation of Literature should have suffered some abatement. While it was felt, indeed, on the one hand, that little more in this department was left to be done, it was found on the other, that new fields had been opened in the material world as interesting as those of the mental, and also more tangible and substantial, where the most refined intellect could find its proper objects of study, and ambition or philanthropy erect the best trophies of its success. A great and useful discovery in physics, by which the human race at large is to be benefited, is not imprisoned within a single language, or only appreciated by the highest in taste and intellect. If therefore we have fewer metaphysicians, critics, poets, moralists, historians, in the present than the preceding period, we can console our-

selves with the thought that it is because our master-intellects have found other fields of occupation, of which we are daily reaping the fruits. A new movement of the human mind has commenced, of which the present is the transition period between it and the old; and that period is chiefly occupied with those literary celebrities who either were the lights of the former generation, or whose aptitudes are more for literary than scientific research. We had till lately, and in unabated vigour, the octogenarian De Quincey, whose eloquent writings in every literary department extended over half a century; and Leigh Hunt, who, as political writer, journalist, poet, and essayist, delighted two generations and the boyhood of a third; and Lord Macaulay, who, after a brilliant career as statesman, orator, biographer, essayist, and reviewer, achieved for himself his last and highest distinction as an historian of England. But the most eminent of them all, as well as their concentration, is the venerable Lord Brougham, that living connecting link between the old intellectual world and the new, who after winning the highest distinction in the literature of the one, has advanced into the science of the other with an ardour and activity still unabated and unchecked. Then we have Thomas Carlyle, the merciless iconoclast of idol theories and modern philosophical paganism; and the Duke of Argyll, the able expounder and advocate of physical science; and Mr. Gladstone, the eloquent denouncer of that Neapolitan tyranny which has formed so strong a barrier against Italian regeneration. Many other names might be given to prove that the spirit of literature has not yet died among us, and that its lustre is only overcast for the time by the inauguration of a new era, and the more popular character of its pursuits. Of these, we shall only mention the names of Fronde, Grote, Napier, Dr. Arnold, and Alison, in history, and Lord Campbell in biography, as sufficient to be suggestive of others. In biography, indeed, there will never be a lack of authorship, as long as eminent men exist, or friends and relatives to embalm their memory; and hence the monthly issues from the press of "Lives" and "Memoirs" in unabated profusion, and with all their former variety of excellencies and defects. The same plentiful supplies continue in the departments of classical, theological, and antiquarian learning, and also in light or miscellaneous periodical writing; for these are departments which will continue to be loved and prosecuted for their own sake to the end: but even in these we miss such high names as aggrandized them some thirty years ago, or at least, we feel no such interest in finding them out, and holding them up as the lights and guides of the day. In reading over the lists of living authors, there is

one peculiarity that cannot fail to strike even the most unobservant. It is the great number of female names as compared with any former period. Nor are these confined as before to the merely imaginative departments, to novel writing and poetry, but are extended over those from which they had been formerly excluded; so that in biography, history, and the fine arts, in antiquarianism, even in theology, ladies are distinguishing themselves by their writings, and commanding the homage of that sex into whose exclusive province they have so worthily entered. Well is it that woman is thus showing herself a "help meet for man," let man become as learned and intellectual as he may! A new era for the sex is dawning, and woman's full rights as well as her true mission are beginning to be better understood.

Although science has now obtained the predominance over literature, one literary department is still left not only undiminished, but of greater influence than ever. Man is not only an imaginative being, but his imagination, as it is the earliest, is also the strongest of all his intellectual faculties, and let whatever study predominate for the time, its cravings must be satisfied. As this faculty also is so generally inherent, even where the others may be scanty or inert, every one must have an ideal world of his own, to which he can retire from the daily toil and dull realities of the present; and whether it may be the minstrel's ballad or the impersonations of the actor, the romance, the allegory, or the tale, it is the resting-place upon which he falls back, according to his own particular tastes and capacities. But in the advance of society to its present point, many of these resources have necessarily dropped off at each stage of progress, while invention was unable to discover something new to substitute in its stead. Thus the troubadour passed away; thus the romance was flung aside as a dull absurdity; thus, too, even the drama has ceased to charm, and its "beggarly account of empty boxes" been converted into firewood. And what then remains? The novel, and nothing but the novel. It alone has survived, because its fictions were founded upon reality, and not upon giants, knights, and enchanters, incredible loves and battles, and impossible reverses; and it continues to increase as a literary power by how much it combines high feelings and startling incidents with the character of reality and truthfulness. These circumstances will account for the present prevalence of novel writing beyond any former precedent, and for the high standard that has been imposed upon it. Almost every man and woman—nay, almost every child, is more or less a novel reader, and must have novels worth reading. The demand of course

has created a correspondent supply, and the ablest intellects of the day write novels. Hackneyed plots and dull frivolities will no longer be tolerated, and therefore the novel, while an attractive tale and a true picture of life, must also instruct, purify, and elevate. In consequence of this demand, almost every theory of history, politics, morals, theology, science, is to be found incorporated in the novels of the present day, and illustrated with an eloquence, clearness, and impressiveness to which learned formal essays cannot always attain.

As the novelists of the present period are so numerous, a list of even the principal writers in this department would exceed our limits. But this becomes the less necessary, as they are so generally known and appreciated. Foremost, perhaps, in the list may be mentioned the name of Charles Dickens, who, under the homely name of *Boz*, took the public by storm in his well-known publication of the *Pickwick Papers*, and has maintained his popularity unabated to the present hour. Of scarcely inferior note is W. M. Thackeray, whose vigorous sketches of life and character are heightened with the reflectiveness of Fielding, and almost the causticity of Swift, and who, with greater toleration for the weaknesses of humanity, and a higher enthusiasm for its merits, might perhaps be more popular still. Then, we have Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, the statesman as well as novelist, who at an early period of life commenced a brilliant career by his first popular work, *Pelham*; who continued for a time to be the delineator and eulogist of fashionable coxcombs and essenced *roués*; but who afterwards forsook these heroes of his youth, for characters of a higher stamp, and subjects of a more ennobling character. One of our most distinguished novelists, also, is Benjamin D'Israeli, whose name has already so often occurred in our pages but under a different capacity—who, like Bulwer, was a writer of novels before he became a statesman, and whose favourite themes have been the grandeur of the Jewish race, and the high destinies that yet await them. All these writers achieved a high reputation while still young, and have continued to maintain their pre-eminence against a whole world of competition, so that the annunciation of a new work from any of them is enough to set the whole novel-reading world on tiptoe. Of the names inferior to these of the first rank, we can only mention Kingsley, Warren, Collins, Reed, James, Carleton, Lever, Lover, Grant, Ainsworth, Anthony Trollope—the popularity of whose works is attested at every railway station, and which are almost as common in the hand of every traveller as the railway ticket. But further we will not attempt to enumerate, as

the list would otherwise “stretch out till the crack of doom.” In an age of such female intellectual activity, and in a department where ladies are so fitted to excel, by their quickness of observation, tact, and delicacy, they fully divide the popular estimation with the other sex, and assert their equality in talent, however different in kind. Of these female novelists, the first place is due to Charlotte Brontë, whose writings exhibit a wonderful combination of masculine vigour with feminine delicacy; Miss Mulock, who is equally at home in the ages of romance and the scenes of modern everyday action; Mrs. Gore, the prolific delineator of all the lights and shadows of fashionable life; Mrs. Marsh, whose well-known series commenced with *Amelia Wyndham*; Miss Evans, the author of *Adam Bede*; and though last, not of secondary account, Mrs. Trollope, who delighted the previous as well as the present generation by the *vis comica* of her caricature sketches. But here, also, we must abruptly close the list against the crowd of coming names all more or less worthy of notice. Our scantiness of enumeration, however, both of male and female novelists is the less to be blamed, when we remember how rapidly such names rise into notice, and how quickly they disappear and are forgot. This species of writing, as it is the most common and prolific of all literary reputations, is also the most evanescent. The novel is read and the amusement is gone. The author's aim was perhaps nothing more than to amuse, and he has had his reward. The tale of yesterday can no longer call us back when the tale of to-day is at hand.

In the foregoing period of our history, the chief amount of literary effort was bestowed upon periodical literature, in which department the highest place was occupied by the monthly magazines and quarterly reviews. These were the arbitrary dictators and influential guides of the past generation, not only in literary but political opinions, while the *prestige* they had won was well supported by the high names and superior talent which these publications were able to command. But much of this influence has passed away, partly through the elevation of the general intellect which they mainly contributed to effect, and partly by the diversion of the public tendency into different channels. The intellectual impatience of the age, also, which has been so largely increased by telegraphic communication and railway travelling, will no longer contentedly wait for three long months, or even a single month, to learn the oracular verdict of the magazine upon events which are passing at railway speed. Still, however, the power of habit remains, although the interest in these publications has abated, and readers cannot

lightly abandon the periodical from which their literary bias was derived, and their views of men and books established; and therefore these works continue to issue from the press, although with a diminished circulation. Of the quarterly journals, there are at present 35, and of the monthly magazines about 300, published throughout the United Kingdom.

But the great literary power which now predominates beyond all others, not only in Britain, but over the whole civilized world, is the *NEWSPAPER*. This, which has been called the Fourth Estate in our own country, and which has frequently a voice more potential in the government of the kingdom than that of king, lords, and commons united, may also justly be termed the *maire de palais* of despotic monarchies, and the tribune of republics. It is not to be wondered at, also, that this ominous broadsheet should be so all-prevalent in its influence, when we remember its origin and its uses. In its rudest state it is the voice of a government announcing its will to the public, and instructing the subject in his duties. Going higher still, it becomes the expression of the popular voice to the rulers, proclaiming the public wants and wishes, and upon what terms the people are willing to submit to rule. In this way it is the barometer of the political horizon, in which statesmen can read the propriety of their measures, or be warned of disaster and change. It is nothing more than natural, therefore, that in an age of general intelligence, and with such abundant means of printing and transmission, there should be newspapers in almost every language; and that these should chiefly consist of a daily or weekly history of the government, and popular comments upon its proceedings. It is equally natural that such means of general intelligence should be regarded by rulers with a suspicious eye, and this especially when the rule is unpopular, or when some aggression upon the liberties of the people is attempted. When such an attack is to be made upon the popular rights, the first step of the usurpation is to arrest the journals, while on the other side the "liberty of the press!" is the first war-cry of resistance. Such being the nature and importance of the newspaper, it could not be otherwise than that Britain should become its indigenous soil—that there it should take root and flourish—and that having attained such pre-eminence, it should comprise among its contributors so large a proportion of the intellect of the day. But it is not merely as a great source of political intelligence, and exponent of national or party feeling, that the newspaper is valued among us. As a commercial country the interests of Great Britain are identified more or less with every land, and

without prompt regular tidings from all their markets, our national resources and mercantile enterprise would be alike suspended. And even to those who are indifferent to politics or commerce, the newspaper is so essential, that like other regularly used luxuries, it has become a necessary of life. It comprises not only the news of the whole world and the whole empire, but also of the particular town or district which each reader inhabits; and its columns satisfy the curiosity with which he awakes in the morning, and furnish him with topics of conversation for the day. On these accounts, the absence of his broadsheet would be almost equal to the loss of his breakfast. While among the literary and intellectual no kind of reading is taken up with greater zest or punctuality, there are tens of thousands who may be said to read nothing else, and whose intelligence, such as it is, has been derived chiefly from the newspaper.

As a free constitution and the liberty of the press are so essential to the existence of this department of journalism, Britain and the United States of America are naturally the countries in which newspapers are most abundant. In France they would be far more abundant than in either of those countries, in consequence of the restlessness of the national character, and the rapid important changes of the government, were it not for those numerous restrictions under which they are so often coerced by the ruling powers. The origin of the newspaper in England was generally supposed to have been in 1588, the epoch of the Spanish Armada, and that the *English Mercurie* was then published by order of Queen Elizabeth, to allay the popular alarm; but late inquiry has shown that this report is a fiction, and that the specimen of the *Mercurie* preserved in the British Museum is a literary forgery. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that newspapers were issued in England, under the name of a "pamphlet of news," at first irregularly and at long intervals, until the reign of Charles I., and the civil war which ended in the establishment of the Commonwealth, brought the spirit of journalism into its natural activity. Even then, the influence of this powerful political weapon was appreciated, and the two great parties in the state had their rival newspapers, of which the spirit was as keen, and the language more violent, coarse, and abusive, than would be tolerated in the present day. But it was at the accession of Queen Anne, when talent was so abundant, and public events of such importance, that the newspaper acquired that high political ascendancy which has been going on to the present hour. It was in her reign, also, that the first tax was laid upon the newspaper. Ostensibly, it was as a fruitful source of revenue

that the government stamp was imposed upon it; but the real design was, the suppression of libellous articles and attacks upon the ruling powers. The duty imposed was a halfpenny upon papers of half a sheet and less, and a penny upon those which ranged from a half to a single sheet, and it commenced operation on the 19th of July, 1712. But this attempt to suppress the liberty only increased the license of the press; and it was soon found, that the most profitable of all martyrdoms, as well as the best chance of popular distinction, was to incur the penalty of fine or imprisonment for libelling the powers that be. It also provoked a variety of fraudulent attempts to elude the tax, which had risen from a halfpenny and a penny to fourpence. This was especially between the years 1831 and 1835, when scores of unstamped newspapers had started up, inculcating republican doctrines and revolutionary violence, and when the number of prosecutions for such offences was more than 700, in the course of which nearly 500 persons had been punished with imprisonment. In short, it was found out that this tax upon knowledge was not only useless but pernicious, and that at best, a revenue of £553,000 from 36,000,000 stamped newspapers annually, was but a poor compensation for the mischief. In 1836, therefore, the tax was reduced from fourpence to a penny, and on the 15th of June, 1855, was wholly repealed. Thus was the public press set free after the restraint had lasted 143 years, and been from the first a plentiful source of demoralization, crowded jails, and popular discontent. The effect of this repeal of the tax on newspapers was, that eighty new ones were established in 1855, and twenty-seven in 1856, of which twenty-six were metropolitan and eighty-one provincial. In 1857 the total number of newspapers published throughout the United Kingdom was 711, of which 289 were on the side of liberal politics, 173 conservative, 246 neutral, and 3 democratical.

In that department of the history of progress in English literature which we devoted to Poetry and Poets, we found the subject so abundant, especially during the last of the preceding periods, comprising the close of the reign of George III., and the whole of that of his successor, that it seemed to bear an undue proportion to the other literary departments. But this was inevitable on account of the poetical richness which forms so essential a characteristic of the English mind. What country, indeed, at least in the whole range of modern history, has produced poets in such abundance, and poetry of such excellence? Athens had her era of Pericles, and Rome the reign of Augustus, and these were sufficient to make the poetical renown of either country imperishable; but England has enjoyed not one

but four great poetical epochs, each of highest excellence in its especial characteristics. This was much, especially when we remember that poetry, instead of being a perennial flower, is like the aloe, which blossoms only once in a hundred years, and often not more than once during its whole existence. And has the bright tree of England been exhausted by four centuries of periodic exuberance? Even if it must be so, there would be little room for dissatisfaction or complaint. The eras of Chaucer and Gower, of Spenser and Shakspeare, of Milton and Dryden, of Wordsworth and Byron, have each of them a mighty influence and a deathless remembrance, so that our country can afford to hang her well-worn harp upon the wall, and give place to younger nations. That harp, indeed, is still heard, but it is only in the echoes of its latest notes, or in the murmur of the wind through its strings. Such, compared with that of thirty or forty years ago, is the poetry that still lingers among us, and a few sentences will suffice for its notice.

The first name we select among the poets of the present period is that of Lord Macaulay, with whom poetry was but a recreation from more absorbing studies by which his fame will be more lastingly perpetuated. His poetical productions, which are few, under the titles of "Lays of Rome," and "Lays of the Huguenots," are characterized by that rich imagination, delicate taste, and mastery of language which distinguish his prose productions, and show that his lordship might have become eminent in poetry, if it had formed his chief pursuit, instead of an occasional amusement. Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, besides being one of our most distinguished novelists, has also won what may prove a more permanent reputation as a poet, so that his satires on fashionable life, his plays of the "Lady of Lyons," "Duchess de la Valliere," "Richelieu," and his romance-epic of "King Arthur," will probably be perused after his novels have been superseded by others of fresher date. We had also a popular dramatic author in Thomas Noon Talford, whose three productions, the "Athenian Captive," "Ion," and the "Massacre of Glencoe," the first two being constructed on the classical model, were among the last flashes of the national dramatic spirit, and seemed only given forth to grace its final extinction. Superior perhaps in real poetical power to any of these, and who might have won a still higher place but for the nature of his subject, is Bailey, the author of "Festus." This large production, imbued with the metaphysical spirit of Goethe's "Faust" and Wordsworth's "Excursion," is a daring inroad upon the present established order of things, and prophetic anticipations of a social,

political, and moral millennium for the world; but although the ambitious character of the subject, and the vivid original poetry by which it was illustrated, made it to be hailed by a few chosen admirers as the dawn of a new poetic era, "*Festus*" has failed to justify these expectations, and is now almost unread. Of these poets of the day, however, it scarcely can be said that any of them would have won even a second place in that bright constellation which had previously faded away into the daylight of its renown. After these, may be mentioned without particular note, Coventry Patmore, author of the "*Angel in the House*;" James Ayton, professor of rhetoric in the university of Edinburgh, author of "*Lays of the Cavaliers*;" W. R. Jamieson, author of "*Nimrod*," a dramatic poem; Robert Browning, author of "*Bells and Pomegranates*," and "*Paracelsus*;" and R. H. Horne, author of "*Orion*," a drama, and "*Ballads and Romances*." We might even add to the number by the names of poets still less distinguished, but that their distinction is of too limited and temporary a character to entitle them to commemoration. It happened, unfortunately for them, that they appeared at a time when the standard of poetical excellence had been raised so high, and the public mind sated with the previous profusion. It was still more unfortunate for them that they were born in such an age of utilitarianism and physical science, when even the "winged words" of poetry were outstripped by the messages of the electric telegraph, and their music drowned by the thunder of the steam-engine and the shriek of the railway whistle. But is there nothing poetical in this utilitarianism? It is the very soul and life of poetry—poetry in action instead of mere dream and reverie. The spirit is not dead; it is only changed into a nobler form, and exalted to a higher sphere. Even the railway and the electric telegraph are magnificent epics, which nothing but the highest imagination could have conceived; an *Iliad* has been fought in India by Havelock and Clyde, and an *Odyssey* travelled in Central Africa by Dr. Livingston. Such is the form which poetry has assumed among us, and by which even the wonders of past imaginations have been embodied into act and reality. It is poetry performed not written—expressed in deeds not words; and when it returns to its earlier form, the change will be indicative of a season of rest, either through utter exhaustion, or as a preparation for fresh activity.

In the preceding enumeration of the poets of this period, it will be seen that one name has been omitted, and this the most distinguished of them all. He alone is the link that connects the present day with the yesterday in which Wordsworth,

Scott, Campbell, Coleridge, and Byron dwelt among us, and as such, he well deserves the distinction of a separate notice. Alfred Tennyson is our one great poet, and in him the qualities that distinguished several of his great predecessors constitute a combination of excellence that worthily entitles him to his present pre-eminence. The public career of Tennyson commenced in 1830, when he was little more than twenty years of age, with a volume under the unattractive title of "*Poems, chiefly Lyrical*;" but this, and subsequent attempts, notwithstanding their high merit, failed at first to secure the public notice. It was only by the steady perseverance of a mind loving poetry for its own sake that he was enabled to overcome this general indifference; and when the suffrage of the world was at last won in his behalf, the measure of its admiration made ample amends for previous neglect. Tennyson's chief poems are "*The Princess*," "*In Memoriam*," and "*Maud*," and his last and most popular, the "*Idylls of the King*." In quantity, his productions are comparatively scanty, extending as they do over a period of thirty years; but they are distinguished by a carefulness of thought, a melody of versification, and happy selection of language, which indicate the anxious study bestowed on them, so that their appearance is only after long intervals of constant meditation and revision. Their spirit also is impressed, through such a long-sustained process of study, with a solemn melancholy, mixed with profound thoughts and earnest spiritual aspirations, that constitute the chief secret of their attractiveness and popularity. Not the least triumph of Tennyson's genius is, that he, has adopted an old worn-out subject and contrived to invest it with new youth, beauty, and attractiveness. It is the subject of chivalry, and not the chivalry of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, when it was purified from its old rudeness and extravagance, and ennobled by the refinements of modern civilization; but the chivalry of the days of the French paladins of Charlemagne and British heroes of the Round Table—the days of errant knights, giants, dwarfs, dark forests, and flying dragons. It was thought that Tasso and Ariosto had exhausted these themes; that Sir Richard Blackmore had made them contemptible; that Cervantes had laughed them out of existence; and that the failure of even Sir Walter Scott to resuscitate them in his "*Bridal of Triermain*," had stamped the attempt of revival as a hopeless impossibility. But even this wondrous surprise our new poet has successfully achieved. In some of his smaller experimental attempts, and especially in his latest work, the "*Idylls of the King*," he has recalled from the dust of their graves King Arthur and his queen Guin-

ever, the bold knights Lancelot, Tristrem, and Galahad, Merlin the mighty enchanter, and the soldier-pilgrims of the San Graal, and clothed them with such reality and beauty, that we follow their steps and sympathize in their destinies as if they were the heroes of a present life, instead of the dreams and ghosts of an early world and barbarous state of society. In this manner to recall the dead, and invest them with fresh interest and attractiveness, was a greater feat than to create a new theme, and people it with correspondent characters. But he has succeeded because he has identified his old heroes with the feelings of modern life, and animated them with the highest aims and purest aspirations of the present day, and this too without violating the truthfulness of the picture. King Arthur is a model sovereign for the nineteenth century, and yet not less the prince of the Round Table and Pendragon of ancient Britain; and his knights become the noblest of modern gentlemen by merely unbuckling and laying aside their armour. And thus too with his heroines, so that our modern ladies can weep over the sufferings of Enid and Elaine, or kindle with indignation at the heartlessness of Guinever. Should the twentieth century produce for us a new race of poets as well as a new world, will they be as fortunate in the selection of their themes, and their treatment of them, as Alfred Tennyson?

Of the resources upon which the literature of Britain is mainly dependent, we have hitherto given no account. It will at once however be seen that, without the extraneous aid of Public Libraries, the national authorship would be reduced to very limited dimensions. For works of general scholarship, and requiring extensive research, no private collection of books would be sufficient, and even the novel or the newspaper must be sustained from other sources than the writer's imagination. But here, every literary want is supplied by the public libraries, and the liberal principles upon which they are conducted; and the student in every department of the wide range of science and literature can there find his appropriate source of information. The oldest of these great national treasures of knowledge were the libraries of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford; but independently of these, there are spread over the kingdom extensive book collections, either the property of public bodies, or the bequests of individuals, to which access can be obtained by the studious, and the resources of which are coming more into daily demand and use. For the conservation also of knowledge, and of every book worth preserving, a law was passed so early as the reign of Queen Anne, by which eleven copies of every new work entered in Stationers' Hall were presented to as

many of the chief public libraries, especially those of our universities, until A.D. 1835, when in six of these cases the privilege was rescinded, an annual sum being paid to them out of the consolidated fund by way of compensation. It was a relief not only to the publishers, who found this tax of eleven copies a serious drawback upon their profits, but to the colleges themselves, that were beginning to be deluged and all but swamped by the widening flood-gates of modern authorship.

But what may be called exclusively the great national library, on account of the magnitude and value of its collection, and the uses to which it is applied, is the library of the British Museum. Containing nearly 600,000 volumes, and 40,000 MSS., it is one of the most valuable literary collections in Europe, and in point of the number of its volumes, only second to the Imperial Library of Paris. Of these, 220,000 volumes were from gift or bequeathment, the first donor being Sir Hans Sloane, the originator of the British Museum. His bequest was followed by the royal donation of George II., who conferred upon the library, by grant under the great seal, the library of the Kings of England collected from the time of Henry VII., and manuscripts from a much earlier period; by that of George III., who enriched it with a wonderful collection of 34,000 pamphlets, contained in 2220 volumes, published in England between the years 1640 and 1660; and by that of George IV., who bestowed upon it the royal library collected by his father. Not less bountiful were the private donors, who are too numerous to particularize, one of the latest of whom was the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, who, in 1846, left by bequest 20,240 volumes, valued at upwards of £54,000, to the Museum library. But besides these donations, the library still retains its right to a copy of every book entered in Stationers' Hall, and makes purchases of valuable libraries throughout Europe, these additions forming an increase of about 13,000 volumes annually.

So immense an accumulation in every language, of every period, and upon every department of human study, is adequately furnished for the purposes it was designed to serve, and the accommodation of those who use it. An ample reading-room, properly lighted and heated, well served by a numerous staff of attendants, and provided with all the apparatus for reading and writing, leaves the student no cause to regret that by the rules of the institution, he can only use the books within the premises, instead of carrying them to his own home. Equally liberal also are the terms of admission, so that with a simple recommendation from some literary person or even known respectable householder, an applicant is at once admitted to the full use and range of the

collection, let his rank, station, or country be what it may. Here, then, the chief amount of British authorship is daily, weekly, and yearly to be found collected, the veritable living men and women whose names only are known in the provinces, and regarded with veneration or wonderment; and here those works are elaborated which swarm from the press with an abundance and facility at which our ancestors would have been astonished. As intellect also is of no sex, here may be found among the hundreds who regularly assemble within that crystal dome, ladies mingled with gentlemen, but each pursuing his or her separate task apparently unconscious of the presence of another. One is extracting notes from a pile of volumes, or carrying on a hunt of hours or days after a stray fact, date, or name. Another is transcribing from an old smoke-dried or half-burned MS., which none can read but himself. Another is dashing on with pen in full career, and against time, in the lighter departments of literature, where imagination is half the game, and where the work of research is confined to an occasional glance at two or three volumes lying before him. What strange varieties of country, of station, of physiognomy, of intellectual occupation meet within these walls; and what results are there produced, from the ponderous folio to the fugitive essay or tale! No conversation the while—no whispering—nothing is heard but the slight rustle of the pen upon paper, or the occasional roll of the truck-wheels along the oaken floor, conveying volumes too heavy to be carried—while foreigners, astonished at such silence among so great a multitude, cannot comprehend how mind can possibly live in such an atmosphere. But it is a true British characteristic; and like the awful silence of a British battle-charge, it is the expression of confirmed, concentrated resolve. After the library of the Museum, it is the less necessary to mention the other libraries of London, conducted as they are upon a more exclusive principle, and where the books, instead of being studied upon the premises, are lent to the applicants under special recommendation. The chief of these are the Lambeth Palace, Sion College, and Red Cross Street libraries.

While England and the capital are so extensively supplied with the means of study, the literature of Scotland, although not so fortunate in royal and noble donations, has also its collections, under which the authorship of the north has grown and expanded to its present ripeness. And first of these is the Library of Advocates at Edinburgh, which was commenced in 1680, and which, of all the other Scottish libraries, still retains its right to a copy of every work entered in Stationers' Hall. Besides resembling the lib-

rary of the British Museum in this particular case, the Advocates' Library is also open to the studious, who, with a proper introduction, have free access to all its contents. As might be expected, it is especially rich in works of law; but besides this department, it possesses a valuable store of old Scottish poetry and Spanish literature. In 1849 its total amount of printed volumes amounted to 148,000, which in 1857 had increased to 172,000; and besides these, it has 2000 volumes of MSS., valuable in the civil, but especially the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. Similar to that of the Advocates', is the Library of the Writers to the Signet, containing 45,000 volumes. Still more abundant in its catalogue than the foregoing, is that of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, which possesses 100,000 volumes; but its chief value consists of its collections in every department of medical science. Such were the resources from which, in former years, and especially the earlier part of the present century, Scottish authorship principally drew its supplies, and Edinburgh became the Athens of the literary world. But the centralizing power of London, which has so greatly increased of late years, is especially manifested upon the literature of Scotland, by attracting within its own world the greater part of our northern authorship, so that the public libraries of Edinburgh and the Scottish colleges are less frequented than before.

In turning our attention to the progress of the Fine Arts, the department of Painting demands especial notice. During the preceding period, the talent and great power of execution displayed in some of the large works of Hilton, Etty, and Haydon seemed to justify the expectation of the lovers of art, that a school of grand historical painting worthy of the British nation was at last to be established among us. But this cherished hope has not as yet been realized; the advance in this the highest walk of art has not been commensurate with the progress in its other departments. The cause of this short-coming, however, is certainly not to be traced to deficiency of genius, but the want of adequate encouragement. Talents of the highest order, devoted to a production which demands the labour of years, require the fostering patronage both of church and state; and it has chiefly been by such aid that the schools of historical painting on the Continent have risen to their present eminence. But Protestantism discountenances the artistic delineation of sacred subjects, and its places of worship exclude them; while our government has only been lately awakened to the duty of encouraging the fine arts, and that, mainly, on account of their connection with our mercantile prosperity. Hence it is, that so few grand historical or scrip-

tural pictures have been produced. Another cause of this discouragement is to be traced to the scale upon which our historical paintings were generally executed. Among our artists the feeling seemed to be prevalent, that vastness of scale was necessary for the proper development of a grand historical subject, until, as in many of the works of Haydon and Etty, the human figure attained such colossal proportions, that the size of the pictures totally unfitted them for the walls of a private mansion. Our civic and public buildings also, which might have displayed them with propriety and effect, continued to have their halls unadorned with works of art, or occupied solely with the portraits of their founders and benefactors. The consequence was, that these productions remained unsold, or went a begging for purchasers at wholly unremunerative prices.

While the highest department of art was thus discouraged, an event occurred that promised to inaugurate a new era in its history, and prepare it for a fresh career. Mention has already been made of the destruction of both Houses of Parliament by fire on the 16th of October, 1834. As it was necessary to erect new buildings for the seat of legislation, it was resolved that these should comport with the grandeur of Britain in the nineteenth century, and be an enduring monument to future ages of its wealth, power, and attainments. For such a purpose the fine arts were essential; and accordingly, in 1841, a royal commission was appointed to consider how far the national edifice might be made conducive to their encouragement and advancement. The commissioners decided that the houses should be decorated with paintings in *fresco*; and in order to obtain a fair estimate of the talent that might be called forth, so that their patronage might be justly distributed, they instituted a series of competitive exhibitions. The first of these, a competition in cartoons (the preparatory designs for fresco painting), took place in Westminster Hall in 1843. The subjects selected were from history and poetry, and the figures were of life size. Eleven premiums were offered, and the trial was so satisfactory, that the number of premiums fell greatly short of the number of approved productions. In 1844 a competition in fresco painting and in sculpture was equally satisfactory; and in 1845 the actual frescoes were exhibited from six given subjects. These trials were followed in 1847 by a competition in oil painting, which was also considered to be successful. Such were the means employed by the commissioners to test the powers of our native artists in a method of painting which they had not hitherto practised. Throughout all the competitions, the premiums, with some two or three exceptions, were awarded to young, and at that time comparatively un-

known artists, few of established reputation having taken part in the competition. Such was the result of one portion of the plan of the commissioners, which, in its whole extent, comprehended a vast scheme, in which painters, sculptors, and decorators of every kind should be employed, and the fine arts developed and advanced in all their different departments. The establishment of painting in fresco as an ordinary and familiar method with our artists, which it has so greatly tended to promote, is of itself no mean achievement in the progress of British art. It is true, indeed, that in the paintings for the houses, little has as yet been effected, the few frescoes already executed being but a small portion of the contemplated work, while most of them have failed to become popular. But it is not difficult to account for this disappointment. Of the subjects, some have been selected from so remote a period of our history, that the public no longer remembers them, or has ceased to sympathize in them; while others are mere idealisms or allegories, which none but the designer can understand or the interpreter explain. Still we do not, and we need not, despair. The failure, if failure there has been, is only temporary. The spirit that has been awakened, and the national encouragement by which it is animated, will, we doubt not, so advance the art of historical painting among us, as to exalt our artists, at least to an equality in this department with those of Germany and France. The effect of the competitions for the adornment of the Westminster Palace is not to be estimated from the pictures on the walls alone, but from the impulse it has conveyed and the emulation it has kindled. It is much that the fine arts should at length have found such a great national field for their arena of trial and display, with a whole nation for the on-lookers and rewarders.

While the progress of historical painting, taking the term in its highest sense, was so inadequate, and its sphere so limited, it was natural that artists who would have chosen this department, should seek a safer and more remunerative outlet for their particular tendencies. Those therefore who devoted themselves to the delineation of the human figure, and the expression of human action and passion, betook themselves to scenes of domestic interest, or the illustration of the poems and novels of the most popular writers. In this way, the works of Shakspeare, Milton, Cervantes, Molière, Le Sage, Goldsmith, Scott, &c., which afforded so ample a scope, were largely drawn upon by our artists. But latterly this profusion had somewhat sated the public taste; a general craving followed for something more fresh and original; and the artists themselves were ready to

respond to the call, by entering into a wider field, and illustrating the drama of life with a deeper comprehension of its universal interest and boundless variety. Instead, therefore, of painting at second hand the ideas of life and action as presented by certain favourite authors, they now aim at original illustrations of the ever-varying phases of society. Many pictures have thus been produced of late years full of profound thought, tender pathos, cheerful vivacity, and quiet humour, honourable alike to the just appreciation of human nature, and the high professional skill of those who produced them.

Independently of this original spirit in design, a great advance in precision of drawing and carefulness of execution has been accomplished during the last thirty years. Among some of the most successful artists of the early part of the present period, and particularly those of the Scottish school, the necessity of definite drawing and correct detail seemed to be held in little account. This was especially the case in landscape painting, where a loose generalization was adopted, which, though not seldom productive of a highly poetical expression, fostered a careless and slovenly style of execution among younger artists, and greatly tended to vitiate the public taste. But, happily, the representatives of a more correct school of art predominated, men who could draw with accuracy and precision; and since their example obtained the ascendancy, the evil has been checked, and the current turned into the right direction. Thus, the drawing of the British school is already greatly in advance of its former position; and although to correctness of form greatness of style has yet to be added, we doubt not that the onward progress of taste will soon lead to this more difficult attainment.

At this point we may advert to a new system of art that has arisen among us, by which further progress in poetical creations of beauty and grandeur has been threatened with a most unwelcome impediment. We allude to what is called pre-Raphaelitism, the great artistic heresy of the present day. A knot of painters, who assumed the singularly inappropriate name of pre-Raphaelites, have propounded, both by their paintings and writings, such principles of art as would reduce the artist to the most prosaic of mortals. The veritable Italian pre-Raphaelites at the end of the fifteenth century were the most ideal of painters; their modern representatives are the most material and naturalistic. In opposition to the imaginative in painting, which, in addition to poetic conception, demands selection of objects, harmony of arrangement, and all the graces of style, the pre-Raphaelites of the modern school taught that nature in its most material and ungainly forms was to be copied

with implicit exactness. In their first productions this doctrine was rigidly fulfilled; and the public were astounded by pictures in which the total absence of beauty of form or the graces of composition were combined with the most pains-taking accuracy of detail and excessive minuteness of finish, and in which accessories, hitherto inadmissible in works of art, were obtruded with ostentatious distinctness. Their theory seemed to regard the beautiful as a temptation and a snare to beguile them into the dangerous paths of idealism, and models beneath the standard of nature's beauty came to be recognized as the most fitting subjects for their pencil. Here, too, the evil did not stop; for notwithstanding their eccentricities, these artists were men of earnest purpose, and some of them gifted with high abilities; and, however repulsive might be their earlier productions, it is not to be denied that they evinced great power, and sometimes possessed a quaint deep tenderness that almost redeemed their ugliness. Of late, more than one of the pre-Raphaelite brethren have given striking evidence of a renunciation of their first faith, by productions which, while still retaining all the meritorious accuracy and high finish of their earlier pictures, are poetical creations marked with deep thought and tender sentiment. That they have the power to confer benefit upon British art may be fairly assumed; and when they abandon the trite, the vulgar, and repulsive, and paint nature in her greatness and beauty, they may achieve for themselves a high position which shall be universally, and not merely *partially* acknowledged.

As our artists are so numerous, and their qualifications so various, we must confine ourselves to the general indications they have given during the last thirty years, and this too with a very summary notice. We have already stated that the *genre* pictures of the British school of painting hold one of the highest places among kindred works in Europe; and in regard to colour and effect, they are in advance of most of the modern continental productions. In marine painting—a department in which it ought to excel as a national distinction and characteristic—it may be said to occupy the first rank, being scarcely equalled by the productions of the French school, which approaches nearest to our own in excellence. In landscape, the rich scenery of the south, and the picturesque grandeur of the north, with their rapid changes of storm and sunshine, have had an inspiring effect upon our painters, whose productions in this class of art are not surpassed by those of any other nation. This excellence is especially apparent in their faithful realization of daylight and the varying effects of the atmosphere, qualities in which they very

favourably contrast with the recent works of France and Germany. In portraiture, much of the old conventionality prevails; and while an occasional effort is successfully made to abandon stereotyped arrangements and formal positions, for a better pictorial treatment, the portrait painter still seems to be too readily satisfied with a mere faithful presentment of his sitter. But in spite of these perpetuated drawbacks, which seem common to this department in every country, the British school of portrait painting still holds a respectable rank in art. To our animal painters the highest praise may be accorded. It is true, indeed, that in this department our artists have not yet reached the dash and vigour of the animal painting of the great school of Brabant, but on the other hand, they excel these old artists in natural expression, refinement, and vivacity.

While the progress of the British school of painting has been on the whole so satisfactory during the present period, and so full of promise for the future, the new invention of photography, which at first seemed to threaten a diminution of the artist's occupation, has been one of the elements operating upon this improvement; and by reverting to our previous notice of this invention, the manner and character of its operation upon art will at once be perceptible. The exactness, minuteness, and finish of sun-drawing, and the readiness with which a sun-picture can be taken and transferred to the artist's portfolio, to be studied at leisure, have reduced the careful study of nature to a less onerous task. By this process, the precision of form and disposition of light and shade are brought vividly and continuously under his notice, and an increased facility and power in reproducing them imparted. Hence the importance which is now attached to photography as a separate department of art, and the care with which it is cultivated and improved in all its branches. And while its delineations have tended to raise the standard of excellence in drawing among the artists themselves, the effect they have produced upon the popular taste at large, if less apparent, has not been less decided. In almost every street of our principal cities, photographic specimens of landscape, architecture, and portraiture arrest every eye; and the crowds that are familiarized with them are insensibly acquiring a correctness of taste which will no longer be satisfied with mere showy and superficial generalities.

In the history of the British school of painting during the middle of the nineteenth century, and the means adopted to elevate the general taste, the public collections now demand especial notice. And first of these is the National Gallery of Paintings, the earliest of our govern-

ment institutions for the promotion of the arts, but which did not originate until 1824, when parliament voted £57,000 for the purchase of Mr. Angerstein's collection; and this, with Sir George Beaumont's valuable collection, which he presented to the nation, was to form the nucleus of the National Gallery. The first consisted of thirty-eight, the last of sixteen pictures, most of them the productions of the old masters. For some years the collection went on slowly, being chiefly increased by donations, the most important of which was the bequest of the Rev. Holwell Carr, of thirty-five pictures, all of them, except one, being valuable productions of the old masters. In 1858-59, the gallery contained 330 pictures, of which 154 had been purchased, and 176 presented or bequeathed. This is no doubt but a small number as compared with the galleries of the Louvre, Dresden, Madrid, Berlin, and Munich; but considering its intrinsic value, and the short period of its existence, it does not need to shrink from a comparison with any foreign gallery. In 1847, Mr. Robert Vernon presented to the nation his collection of 157 pictures, all of them except two being by British artists alone. They were generally of more than average excellence, and some of them of very superior merit, and of themselves were well fitted for the commencement of a gallery of native art. Of still higher importance was the Turner collection, bequeathed by that prince of landscape painters to the British nation in 1851, and of which mention has already been made.¹ It is formed entirely of his own productions, and consists of 100 finished paintings in oil, some hundreds of finished water-colour drawings, and several thousands of studies and sketches; and these he bequeathed upon the easy condition that within ten years a suitable place should be prepared for their accommodation. Next in order of time was the donation of the Sheepshanks' collection, which was presented by Mr. Sheepshanks to the nation in 1857. It comprises 234 oil paintings, the productions of our best British painters, ranging over a period of fifty years; and is especially rich in the productions of Leslie, Mulready, Stothard, Collins, Webster, and Landseer. It was stipulated by Mr. Sheepshanks, that a well-lighted and otherwise suitable gallery, to be called the "National Gallery of British Art," should be forthwith erected by government, in which his pictures should be kept, with whatever other paintings might afterwards be contributed. In consequence of this stipulation, a convenient and well-lighted building was erected at South Kensington, in June, 1857, and opened to the public, free on certain days of the week, and for a small fee on the

¹ Vol. iv. p. 477.

other days of the week, when students are admitted. By these Turner, Vernon, and Sheepshanks' collections, and the specimens of native art originally belonging to the National Gallery, many of the best specimens of the British school, extending from Hogarth and Reynolds to the close of the present period, have been brought together and preserved for public use.

Closely connected with these collections is the "National Portrait Gallery," the chief aim of which is not so much to cultivate the public taste in art, as to animate the national patriotism by a commemoration of the great and good characters by whom our public annals are adorned. The veritable likeness of such personages is contemplated with emotions not only irrespective of artistic feeling, but of nobler and higher character, and the exhibition of such a series of silent portraits will ever be more available with the bulk of the community than the most eloquent harangues and eulogies. The want of a gallery of this kind had long been felt, and the subject being brought before government by Earl Stanhope (then Lord Mahon) in 1856, a grant of parliament was made to the amount of £2000 for furthering such a national object, and the institution itself was commenced at the end of the following year, with twenty-three portraits, fifteen of which were purchased, and eight were donations. In 1858 thirty were added, of which eighteen were obtained by purchase, and twelve by donation. As a "National Portrait Gallery" ought to be a Valhalla, into which nothing but genuine worth and greatness should find admission, the rules of selection have been made sufficiently stringent. The portrait must not only be an authentic one, but the original must have been a British worthy in the true sense of the term. When a donation is offered, the approval of at least three-fourths of the trustees is necessary for its acceptance. To guard the selection also from artistic bias or party prejudice, the trustees are composed not merely of artists and connoisseurs, but of historians, antiquaries, politicians, men of every party, but considered to be free from sectarian or party exclusiveness. And that time sufficient may be given to test the worth of every candidate for a niche in this temple of fame, it is decreed by their second regulation, that "no portrait of any person still living, or deceased less than ten years, shall be admitted by purchase, donation, or bequest, except only in the case of the reigning sovereign, and of his or her consort, unless all the trustees in the United Kingdom, and not incapacitated by illness, shall, either at a meeting or by letter, signify their approbation." The parliamentary grant of £2000, which is to be annually continued, insures funds for the necessary purchases. This National Gallery was first

opened to the public on the 25th of January, 1859; the number of portraits which it contained at the close of that year being ninety-seven. Were but the portraits of the British worthies contained in the British Museum, Hampton Court, and the National Gallery, added to this collection—a wish which probably may yet be fulfilled—our "National Portrait Gallery" would be worthy of the nation that has produced such men, and the liberality and public spirit with which such memorials have been accumulated.

Two galleries of paintings still remain to be mentioned, which, although not strictly national property, are yet open to public inspection. The first of these is the collection of Hampton Court Palace, chiefly formed by bringing together the pictures from the other royal palaces, and which for these twenty years has been freely thrown open to the public. It consists of 1850 pictures, among which are the seven cartoons of Raphael, of themselves sufficient to give a character and standing to any collection. While many of the pictures are of inferior merit, there are fine specimens of the Italian and Dutch schools, and the collection is rich in the works of foreign artists who practised in this country, including those of Holbein, Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller. The other is the Naval Gallery of Greenwich Hospital, founded chiefly by Mr. Locker, one of the commissioners of the hospital, in 1823. It is a truly national collection of the portraits of our distinguished naval commanders from the days of Hawkins, Raleigh, and Drake, ending with Nelson, his contemporaries, and immediate successors; and of the pictures of our great sea-fights, from the destruction of the Spanish Armada to the battle of Trafalgar. This valuable collection consists entirely of donations; and as soon as the plan was proposed by Mr. Locker, George IV. enriched it with portraits of English admirals from the collections in Windsor Castle and Hampton Court, an example which was soon followed by private individuals, so that the gallery is rich as a biographical record of historic worth and heroic associations. The sight-seers of London and their numerous visitors, in consequence of the opening of these two galleries, have now made Greenwich Hospital and Hampton Court the favourite places of their holiday pilgrimages.

While so much has been effected in England for the improvement of art in so short a period, a similar movement, though in a more limited degree, has been going on in Scotland, and Edinburgh as well as London possesses its National Gallery of Paintings. The building for the purpose, one of the choice architectural ornaments of the city, was erected partly from funds supplied by the "Board of Trustees for Manufac-

tures in Scotland," and partly from a grant by government. The foundation stone was laid by the prince consort on the 30th of August, 1850, and on the building being completed, it was opened to the public in 1858. The collection consisted of—1. The pictures collected by the directors of the Royal Institution, and first exhibited to the public in 1831; 2. The pictures, bronzes, &c., bequeathed by Sir James Erskine of Torrie, to the college of Edinburgh, and deposited with the board for exhibition, under a deed of agreement; 3. The collection of ancient and modern works, commenced in 1829 by the Royal Scottish Academy; 4. Pictures, the property of the board, acquired either by purchase or gift for the National Gallery; 5. Modern works purchased by the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, with funds set apart for this purpose by their charter; 6. Pictures deposited or lent for fixed periods. The whole collection amounted to 294 paintings, and 37 marbles and bronzes, but lately it has received several valuable additions. It is a worthy pendant to those larger galleries of art in London which belong to the empire at large; and as a school of study, it bids fair to promote that artistic excellence in which Scotland, although the latest of kingdoms to enter into the competition, has already done so much.

The opening of picture galleries to the public was calculated to do much towards extending a just appreciation of works of art among all classes of the people, and to stimulate a desire to possess objects affording such pure and elevating enjoyment. But good pictures are costly luxuries, which only the rich can afford, and even the more ordinary and unpretending productions of the easel were within the reach of a comparatively small section of the community. Hence the establishment of Art-Unions, which have been multiplied throughout the kingdom, and the productions of which are to be found upon the walls of every house of ordinary pretensions. Their commencement was in Edinburgh by a few private individuals in 1833, when a society was established under the name of the "Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland." This example was followed in England by the establishment of a kindred society in London in 1837; and the impulse thus given was soon followed by the principal cities of the United Kingdom, each establishing an art-union of its own. The purposes of these unions are twofold: the first, to encourage artists by giving liberal prices for their best productions; the second, to place within the reach of all, really good examples of the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving. These aims are secured by the committee of the art-union, and the money contributed by the

subscribers. Their plan of operation, as first proposed, was limited to the purchase of pictures and the disposal of them among subscribers by lottery; but it was soon found expedient to offer something more than the mere chance of obtaining a painting. Accordingly, one of the best prize pictures, or some other work of excellence, was selected for engraving, and a copy of the print given to each subscriber—who has thus not only the chance of winning a valuable painting, but the certainty of getting an engraving fully worth the amount of his subscription.

The history of the progress of these art-unions has strikingly manifested their acceptability, as well as the greatness of the want which they were designed to satisfy. At their commencement in this country, their operations were mainly confined to the localities in which the several societies were established. But of late years their operations have been so extended as not only to comprise the whole British islands, but a great part of our colonies also. From this circumstance, the engravings they have produced have been very widely disseminated, while it has not unfrequently happened that one of the leading prizes has fallen to the lot of a person residing in Australia, the West Indies, or the Cape of Good Hope. The patronage they have extended to art, and the influence they have exercised, may be surmised from their monetary statistics. At its first allotment of prizes in 1834, the Edinburgh society had raised for the year, £728, while in 1859 the subscriptions for the year had reached £5894. In 1837, the first year of its existence, the London society raised £489, while in 1859 the annual subscription had risen to £15,210. In 1841, the first year of the Glasgow society, the sum raised was £1224; but in 1855, the year when the subscriptions had reached the highest point, they amounted to £20,281. From its commencement in 1837 to 1859 inclusive, the total amount raised by the London society was £254,143. Of this sum, £138,662 was expended on paintings and other works as prizes, and £64,624 on the production of engravings, the balance of the sum collected being required to defray the working expenses.

While art-unions have grown so great and achieved so much, it has been objected, that the tendency of these institutions is to degrade art by the temptation they hold out to artists to lower their works to the standard of a popular taste as yet young and immature, and to be more solicitous to impart to their productions those showy superficial qualities that will suit the market, than those which a cultivated judgment is needed to appreciate. It is also asserted that the engravings, whatever may be their intrinsic value, become worthless by their

profuse distribution. But to the first of these objections it may be answered, that not only is the possession of a *mediocre* picture better than none at all, but that the growing knowledge and discriminative judgment of those who choose the pictures, whether they be the union committees or the subscribers themselves, are an ever-increasing safeguard against this depravity of choice. And with regard to the engravings, a very slight consideration suffices to show that the object of art-unions can only be attained by the engravings becoming common; that their aim is, that such works may no longer be reserved for the delectation of the wealthy, but diffused among the homes of the middle classes, and even those of inferior grade; and that from these household ornaments aspiring genius should early become conversant with the true and beautiful in art. And that such a result is the necessary consequence of art-unions, picture-galleries, and other such public institutions, has been evinced during the last thirty years. Their combined influences upon the people at large, and the increasing demand they have created, have made the present period remarkable for the profusion and variety of its art products. At no former time was there even an approach to the countless productions in engraving, lithography, statuary, and photography, of every variety of excellence, that now issue forth in such abundance; and it may already be asserted, that art, though in a form sometimes lowly enough, has found its way into every household, and thrown its silent influence, whether immediately or indirectly, over every mind.

In this brief sketch of the history of painting during the last thirty years, we have contemplated the cultivation of art for its own sake, and with reference to the pleasurable emotions of which it is so pure and so fertile a source. But in such a practical and utilitarian age as the present, something more than the mere luxurious sentimentalism and poetry of art was demanded. It was found that while our manufactures had been so greatly improved and so widely extended, we were still decidedly inferior to the continental nations in all that relates to beauty of form, design, and decoration, and that this inferiority depreciated certain classes of our manufactures in the foreign markets, where those of France and Germany, although not intrinsically better, obtained an unmistakeable preference. This fact bearing so closely upon the national prosperity, naturally impressed itself upon our government, and originated a very important branch of state patronage—the establishment of government Schools of Design for the education of designers employed by manufactories in an adequate knowledge of ornamental art. These

schools were first established in 1837, and after undergoing many changes, they have at last subsided into a *department* under the Committee of Council for Education. Originally instituted as schools of design, not only art, but even processes of manufacture were attempted to be taught in them: they then became “schools of ornamental art,” and they are now Schools of Art, in which ornament constitutes one of the branches of education, and many elementary drawing schools are now connected with them. It was full time indeed to originate such an improvement; for until the establishment of these schools, our pattern-makers were almost our only designers. With the application of a design to the technical requirements of a specific manufacture they were quite familiar; but through want of a proper education they were utterly inadequate to its original production. Hence it was that the patterns in English manufactured goods were, either modified copies of designs prepared for other purposes, and often sadly misapplied by the transference, or actual copies from patterns on foreign fabrics.

The influence of these government schools of art, and others that had sprung up in connection with them, was soon perceptible in the improved taste exhibited in our manufactures; but the competition in the Great Exhibition of 1851 sufficed to convince us that much greater improvement might still be effected. The mechanical skill displayed in the specimens of English manufactures was universally recognized; but this was contrasted by their inferiority in point of design—their design and decoration being to a very large extent either puerile attempts at originality, or adaptations in the worst French taste, the *Rococco* or debased Louis-Quinze style—a style which the French themselves had generally forsaken for the ordinary *Renaissance* of the period of Henry IV. But the Great Exhibition of Hyde Park gave a lesson upon the subject which our manufacturers were not slow to learn, and the improved taste that has since appeared in manufactured goods and ornamental articles is abundantly apparent. In this application of art to the practical and useful, the manufacturers of articles in pottery and glass have taken the lead, but closely followed by the workers in iron, in bronze, and in brass. Then succeed our workers in the precious metals, bookbinders, house decorators, and manufacturers of textile fabrics; while the rear is brought up by the makers of house furniture and cabinet work, in whose productions the improvement, although as yet the least decided, can still be distinctly recognized.

After this general sketch of the history of British art in painting during the last thirty years, the other departments of the fine arts may

be dismissed with a brief notice. In Sculpture, our artists of the day have not fallen behind their predecessors; and their productions, whether in portraiture or the ideal, still maintain the high reputation in grace, beauty, and truthful delineation, for which they had become distinguished. Our inferiority, however, in public and national monuments still continues to be complained of, notwithstanding the few happy exceptions with which some of our principal cities and churches are ornamented. Sculpture, indeed, has never attained the popularity of painting; and the cause of this may be found in its fewer resources and more limited range of expression. In Britain, also, these disqualifications have been seriously increased by the wearing nature of our climate and the iconoclastic character of our people; so that hitherto our public statues, which might have contended with the war of the elements, have been injured or defaced by rude popular violence or thoughtlessness. But even already the era of a better feeling has commenced, that can appreciate the productions of the sculptor as well as those of the painter, and our monumental statuary is indicating the effects of this revival. It is, indeed, no small encouragement to those who work in stone, marble, or bronze, that their commemorative or national productions can be set up without being smeared by rude pencillings, or scratched with knives, and that, whether under cover or in the open air, the image is as safe as the living man. Among our recent productions of this nature, Foley's equestrian statue of Lord Hardinge, executed for Calcutta, speaks much for the growing improvement of this department of sculpture in Britain. The same may be said of the twelve statues in marble of leading members of the House of Commons, from Hampden to Grattan, executed under the superintendence of the royal commission of the fine arts, and lately placed in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster. They attest the dawning of a better spirit in the style of our monumental sculpture, and present a happy combination of the realistic and ideal. It has hitherto been unfortunate for sculpture, as it was for painting, that its revival in a Christian age was too exclusively based upon the mythological creeds and somewhat loose morality of ancient Greece and Italy. This practice of sculptors, continued to our own time, in their choice and treatment of subjects, has hindered the general popularity and acceptability of their works. Not a few of them seem to think that the naked or semi-naked human form is almost the only object fitted for the employment of their art; and in consequence of this erroneous impression, they continue to produce what are called classical subjects—subjects drawn from antique history and mythology, with which only the

scholar and connoisseur can sympathize, and the titles of which are little else than apologies for the exhibition of undraped humanity. Other sculptors, however, under a wiser inspiration, have turned their attention to the heroines of our British poets; and in these, as well as in kindred imaginative works, drapery is as freely used as the nature of the subject demands, and truthfulness thereby imparted, without the sacrifice of ideal beauty and lofty sentiment. Learned critics may differ on the relative merits of the two classes of sculpture to which we have adverted; but certain we are that there can be no question as to which of them is most in unison with the taste and requirements of the present day. In descending from original and monumental, to reproductions in sculpture upon a miniature scale in Parian porcelain and metal by electro process, we only allude to a well-known source of domestic enjoyment by which so many homes are adorned, and by which a taste in statuary promises to be as highly and as widely cultivated as that which prevails for painting.

In Architecture, the national progress during the last thirty years has not corresponded with the general movement, notwithstanding the imposing buildings which everywhere meet the public eye. Stately halls for the accommodation of literature and science, palaces and palace-warehouses, lyceums, atheneums, and gymnasia, continue to rise in increasing rapidity, each eclipsing its predecessor, and attesting the growth of our wealth and the increase of our public spirit; while the general conclusion continues to be repeated, that all has not been realized as yet which might have been expected. But although much of this complaining may be referred to that captious spirit of discontent which abundance is so apt to create, it must be confessed that there is still ground enough for dissatisfaction. The chief causes of our short-comings in architecture are also not far to seek: they are legibly impressed upon our public buildings, which, however stately or imposing in their appearance, are chiefly copies or imitations of an early period of society, rather than original designs correspondent to the middle of the nineteenth century. Our architects, instead of daring to think for themselves, and follow out a style of their own, still timidly confine themselves to the lessons of the old schools; and the result is imitations of the classical, but especially of the mediæval and revival periods of architecture, in which faithful copying or clever adaptation is the highest merit. This imitative spirit has been especially evinced in the revival of the Gothic style, which now predominates in our new ecclesiastical edifices. The increase of the population

and still more, the general revival of religion in Britain towards the close of the last century, had turned the public attention to the building of new churches, while the Gothic, exclusively termed "the Christian architecture," was subsequently reckoned the fittest style for their construction; and this feeling was further deepened and confirmed by the increasing Popery and widely-spreading Puseyism of the last thirty years, which identified religion with the form of worship that had prevailed during the earlier stages of Christianity. And yet, instead of being the exclusive type of the Christian faith in stone and lime, the Gothic, it is well known, only commenced at a late period of ecclesiastical history, only predominated a few hundred miles to the east and west of the Rhine and in England, and was not matured until the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the revival of this style, which has now been continued for forty years, the vastness and enduring solidity from which the ancient sacred edifices derived their grandeur and imposing appearance, have to be sacrificed to the principles of modern utilitarianism, so that our new cathedral structures have the aspect without the substance of their massive time-honoured predecessors. But still, much has been done by this revival of Gothic architecture both in the renewal of old churches and the construction of new; and until a better style is created, it will continue to satisfy the public taste, as the one most in harmony with religious feeling, and the fittest type of what is reverentially termed "the house of God."

But the great and enduring monument of British architecture in its present state of transition, is that stupendous and magnificent building, the Palace of Westminster, commenced in 1840, and now completed after a labour of twenty years—a short period compared with its colossal magnitude and infinity of detail. It covers an area of more than eight acres of ground, contains 1100 large apartments, and more than 100 staircases, while its corridors and passages comprise a journey of two miles. The height of its towers, which are among the loftiest as well as the most massive in Europe, is more than equalled by the architectural and engineering skill that had to dive deep into the precarious soil of a river's bank, to lay a foundation adequate to sustain such a mountain of stone. To enter into the details of such a vast superstructure would be superfluous, not only as they are so numerous, but as each is more or less the subject of criticism and controversy. We can only state, for the present, that a twenty years of labour, and more than £2,000,000 of expenditure, bid fair to be repaid by the grandeur and beauty of this national pile; and that almost every change in the

original plan—and they were numerous—instead of being dictated by a niggardly economy, only tended to increase its magnitude, its splendour, and its cost. Of course, a diversity of opinion exists, and will continue to exist, upon the architectural merits of the Westminster Palace, and what one party of critics will applaud as striking beauties, will be equally decried by another as striking blemishes. But all will coincide in the declaration, that as a whole, it is the masterpiece of our modern architecture, and the fitting monument of our national wealth, enterprise, and liberality.

After mentioning the Westminster Palace, we might advert to the other public works which have arisen in such abundance during these thirty years. But to all of them, unfortunately, the same objection more or less applies, that they are but *refaccimenti* of old styles, instead of the creation of a new; and that they would apply as fitly to any preceding century as to the nineteenth. Even that palace itself, with its imposing aspect and rich variety, is, after all, an Italian design with medieval details;—the masterpiece of some of our best buildings, which display an original genius even in adaptation. Such is the condition of architecture as one of the fine arts, notwithstanding the numerous public edifices, and splendid mansions of the wealthy and the noble which have been reared during the present period; and however social and domestic comfort may have been improved by their internal arrangements, the outside is a resemblance of what has been accomplished in an earlier and ruder day. But even already this servile spirit is abating. The desire of improvement in this, as in other departments, is impatient for a new and better development, and there is genius enough among us, when thus aroused, not only to plan works of constructive skill, but to combine the scientific and the useful with what is truly beautiful and pleasing. A step in advance to this change was the Institute of British Architects, which was founded about the year 1835, "for facilitating the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected with it, and for establishing an uniformity and respectability of practice in the profession." Another important step has been the use of iron in building, by which gracefulness and lightness are combined with strength and stability, and new forms imparted to which stone is inadequate. In such indications, we detect a hopeful spirit of change and the promise of architectural improvement, in which Grecian temples and Gothic cathedrals will no longer be the only types of excellence.

Of the progress of Music during the present

period little can be said. During these thirty years, no musical composer of note has appeared in Britain; and in the absence of original productions of our own, we have been obliged to content ourselves with those of Italy and Germany. It was otherwise both in England and Scotland three centuries ago, when each country had a national music of its own, and a musical spirit that seemed to insure a succession of musical geniuses equal to their poets. But this commencement so full of hope was not developed, and during these hundred and fifty years, music as a science has been almost wholly thrown aside, and the voice of national song either silenced, or converted into dissonant bawling. To account for the arrest after so much promise, several theories have been offered; but if we remember that this cessation was coincident with the rise of our commercial spirit, the true solution may perhaps be discovered. An earnest spirit was awakened, in which substance not sound was the object of pursuit: the notes of the banker superseded those of the minstrel, and every sweet sound whether of wind or string, was drowned in the clink of gold and silver. Thus, while we became the wealthiest, we also became the least musical of nations; and when we could no longer create music of our own, we were contented to buy it from our neighbours, along with other foreign luxuries. Such in general terms may be accepted as the history of British music till near the close of the preceding period, when a new effort was made to revive it by public concerts, and societies formed for the cultivation of the science, and the promotion of its practice among the people at large. Nor were their efforts unsuccessful. These attempts to popularize the subject were apparent even in our village clubs and common street minstrelsy, and the general ear was awakened with harmonies to which it had long been a stranger. To be convinced of the greatness of the change, let any one but recollect the music of our streets as it existed some forty or fifty years ago, and compare it with that of the present day.

This recall of the national spirit to its old affection could not pass unnoticed; and it was hailed by sincere lovers of their country as the best means of national improvement. It was hoped that the charms of music would banish the desire for grosser indulgences, especially among the lower orders, and prepare them for the operation of better influences: and accordingly, the attempt was made nearly twenty years ago to establish vocal music in our schools as a branch of popular education. The system patronized by government was that of Wilhelm, adapted to English use by Hullah; and from the

simplicity of this method, it was hoped that boys and girls would learn to sing, without waste of time and with little effort. "Schoolmasters," says an English clergyman, "according to the more merciful spirit of modern discipline, were to beat time instead of beating their scholars; and schoolmistresses were to instruct their respective charges in the art of calculating intervals, as well as counting stitches. Every little urchin was to learn sol-fa-ing as soon as he had got through his A B C, and crotchets and quavers were to become as familiar to him as pot-hooks and round O's." The effects of this teaching, although not all that was wished or even hoped for, have still been so far satisfactory, that they have created a general tendency in favour of music which will lead to higher proficiency, and may eventually produce native composers not unworthy to be classed with the great German and Italian masters. For the present effects of this tendency we have only to instance the numerous concerts of our towns, the superior style of their performances, the critical discrimination they have kindled, and the relish with which they are enjoyed—as well as the eager crowds who repair to them, and the very moderate prices by which they are changed from a rare and costly luxury into an enjoyment of which all can partake.

In the present chapter we have purposely omitted the department which properly comes under the term of "Manners and Customs;" and the cause of this omission it will be easy to surmise. It would indeed be superfluous to detail to the present generation the forms of their own domestic life, and their social habits and amusements, which will only be interesting and instructive to our successors, to whom therefore the task of recording them may be bequeathed. But one great feature of the present age cannot thus be passed over in silence. We allude to the great Volunteer Movement, which has converted so large a portion of our citizens into soldiers, our island into a camp, and our public offices into barracks as well as places of business. This, also, the latest as well as the most important of our national events, will form an appropriate termination to our history.

Notwithstanding our victories in the Crimea and India, an impression had been forced upon us by the occasional blunders and disasters of these campaigns, that our military organization was far from being complete. It was also felt that war as a science was assuming a new form, which we should do well to study for the sake of our national safety and stability. This necessity was all the more urgent in consequence of the independence of wind and tide which steam had given to navigation, by which we might be in-

vaded at unawares, and compelled to fight the battle at our own doors, and for our very existence. The provident alarm upon these subjects was so general, that all parties of the government were obliged to yield to it. The state of our land and sea defences was therefore the chief subject of consideration in parliament during the year 1859; and the facility with which Britain might be thus visited, as well as our insufficient state for resistance, was very generally acknowledged. It was from France that the chance of invasion was to be apprehended. Notwithstanding our new and intimate alliance with that country, the defeat of Waterloo had never ceased, it was alleged, to rankle in her recollection, and provoke a desire for retaliation—nay, even our defenceless condition was of itself a sufficient provocation to a people so devoted to war, and so subject to act upon the changeful impulses of the moment. Should it come then to this crisis, which it might at any hour, the chances would be greatly against us. When one nation, it was remarked in the House of Lords, determines to apply all her energies to making money, and another to making preparations for war, it is obvious enough with which of the two nations the money will ultimately be. The idea, indeed, of France effecting the permanent conquest of Britain, was scorned by all parties as a disaster too great to be imagined, and the final expulsion of the invaders from our shores was regarded as a certainty; but in the meantime, a successful march upon London, and the destruction or sack of our metropolis, would, independently of the lasting disgrace, inflict such a loss upon the nation as a whole century might be insufficient to repair. And with what facility such a blow could be inflicted was shown, not only by the military resources of France, but the efficiency of its navy, which already was equal, if not superior to our own. Thus, the French, as was observed by Lord Palmerston, could bring an army together, place it on board without exciting observation, and land it in a few hours on our shores. In the same spirit, the peaceful professions of the French emperor, and his obvious interest to maintain a friendly connection with Britain, were met and answered. He ruled by the popular suffrage, and might be compelled to yield to the popular wish. He could not be relied on, because he was placed in a position in which he could not rely upon himself. He must be governed by circumstances, and it would be wrong to leave our country to the mercy of such contingencies. Let us but put ourselves into a state of preparation for a successful resistance, and even Louis-Napoleon himself would rejoice, as it would furnish him with the best of arguments to his

subjects against any such attempt. Such were the principal arguments adduced in favour of the means of security and defence to be adopted by government, and which were now officially announced by the Earl of Ripon, the under-secretary of state for war. Volunteer corps were to be enrolled throughout the whole island. To promote the purposes of this enrolment, it was the intention of government to issue twenty-five stand of arms to every hundred men (subsequently increased to arms for each man), on the four following conditions:—That a safe range of 300 yards should be provided for practice; that a proper place should be appointed for keeping the arms; that the rules of each corps should be sanctioned by the government; and that a periodical inspection should be made by a proper military officer. In the event, however, of an actual invasion, the government would be prepared to supply every corps with arms. Drill sergeants from the disembodied militia should be provided for each corps, who would be paid, not by the government, but by the corps themselves. It was intended also to allow a limited number of members of the corps, at their own expense, to attend the school of musketry at Hythe. The government likewise contemplated the formation of artillery companies, which would be supplied with instruction, guns, and ammunition, by the royal artillery. The weapon of the new embodied militia was to be the Enfield rifle. The government plan, which was thus announced on 1st July, 1859, was accepted by all parties as the most expedient arm of national defence, and a circular, dated 13th July, authorizing the formation of volunteer corps of rifles and artillery, was despatched from the war office to the lieutenants of all the counties of the United Kingdom.

This decision was nothing more than a response to the general wish, expressed in many an ardent petition as well as offer of gratuitous military service; and, as soon as the royal assent was announced, corps were formed, standards raised, and the work commenced. Everywhere was to be seen the march and countermarch of the new levies; everywhere was to be heard the clang of the bugle and the crack of the rifle. The rapidity with which the fields and waste grounds of our island were arrayed with armed battalions, and the military precision which soon pervaded the evolutions of these citizen-soldiers, dispelled every fear of invasion and every surmise of insecurity, and foreigners themselves were obliged to confess the innate heroic spirit of the British character, and how promptly a "nation of shopkeepers" can be changed into a nation of formidable warriors. It was the rising of a people fearless of danger, and possessing

more than others what was well worth defending. To test the proficiency of the corps of the different districts, and encourage their military ardour by a great national review under the eye of royalty, a display of this nature was given on the 23d June, 1860, at Hyde Park, composed of 20,000 volunteers. The stalwart forms, gallant bearing, and admirable discipline of this uncompelled, unhired soldiery, and their military obedience combined with their consciousness of moral freedom, was a spectacle which perhaps no country but our own could have exhibited in such perfection. It carried the mind back to the days of the Commonwealth, when the London trainbands, derisively termed "the thimble and bodkin army," and composed of shopkeepers, 'prentices, and industrious citizens, were transformed into soldiers that conquered wherever they fought, and whose deeds the legions of Cæsar never surpassed. This inspiring display of the national heartiness and military resources roused the emulative spirit of Scotland; and, as her majesty was about to pass on her way to her Highland home of Balmoral, it was resolved to inaugurate her arrival in Edinburgh with a review of the Scottish volunteers. The day appointed was the 7th of August, 1860, and the place that extensive level ground called the Queen's Park, between the palace of Holyrood and picturesque range of hills called Salisbury Craigs. Then and there such a military muster took place as Edinburgh had never witnessed since the great gathering upon the Borough Muir previous to the national calamity of Flodden; but here how different were the auspices under which the descendants of the gallant array of James IV. were assembled! It was indeed still a competition of Scotland with England, but a competition of brotherly affection, in which each nation was to vie with the other in alacrity and preparation for mutual defence against a common foe, with the queen of both lands as spectator and judge. On this occasion 21,000 volunteers from every part of Scotland were manoeuvred in the park, and at least ten times that number of spectators were clustered upon the banks of the lake and the slopes which bounded the amphitheatre, looking down upon that magnificent moving pageant of war, and the sovereign who stood beneath the shade of the royal banner receiving the homage of each corps as it passed by. And who of all those spectators could still be fearful of invasion or doubtful of the issue? The confidence that enhanced the universal gladness of the spectacle was like the awakening from a troubled dream into health, security, and daylight. These reviews of London and Edinburgh were enough to restore the public tranquillity, and give assurance of the national safety. With

at least 150,000 such citizen-soldiers, which at a short notice could be doubled, and their numerous well-trained corps of artillery, composed of the scientific and educated classes, and already fit for regular service—with these, in addition to our defences on the sea and our regular army, it was thought that we had well insured our shores against the attempt of a hostile landing. And so also, apparently, think the enemies of Britain, whose long threat has subsided into silence or an unmeaning murmur. The glory or the profit of such an attempt is completely outweighed by the chances of utter discomfiture. Nay, even the alliance between France and Britain is thereby the more confirmed, by showing the uselessness of mutual quarrel, and the influence which their combined strength may exercise upon the troubled politics of Europe, and the welfare of the world at large.

But it is not merely in general or political considerations that we are to read the advantages of this great volunteer movement. The benefits it has conferred upon society in a social and moral point of view are so important that, even had the alarm of invasion been nothing more than one of our national periodical panics—and as such it has often been ridiculed by an extreme party of politicians—the bustle of preparation, the drill, the marching and countermarching, the jostling of arms with the regular operations of industry, have been well worth the interruption, the trouble, and the sacrifice. The long cessation from war had made us the less prepared for its coming, and the study of it even as the means of self-defence was in course of general abandonment. The mercantile spirit was obtaining too exclusive possession, and the point of honour degenerating into the question of who could the most adroitly drive a bargain, and the soonest realize a fortune. The occupations of the shop, the warehouse, and the counting-house were not only absorbing the whole mental energies, but even the physical capacities of young ardent manhood; so that, while there was little opportunity for those active out-door sports which best develop the physical qualities, that chivalrous sensitiveness by which a nation is best protected, and without which it languishes and dies, was giving place to an ill-judged confidence in the power of wealth, and the sufficiency of our industrial resources. These consequences of such a long and prosperous course of traffic were heedfully noted and heavily deplored by thoughtful, patriotic philanthropists, while they were unable to discover a remedy so powerful and so universal as would suffice to arrest the evil. And then, happily for us, the remedy of remedies which they could not find was brought to us from an unexpected quarter. We

were to be invaded, and this too by France, the country with which, of all others, we had been in rivalry for ages, and whose enmity we had most to fear. It was a national alarm, but it was also more, for it was regarded as a national insult; and, stung with the thought, the whole nation started from sleep, snatched up their weapons, and rushed forth to meet the danger. Even if the cry of warning was groundless, it broke the spell, warned us of what might eventually be our fate, and roused into full activity that ancient spirit under which our land has grown so prosperous and so great. It has infused a new life into our mercantile character, the tendency of which will be to introduce a chivalrous uprightness and dignity into the transactions of the mart and the operations of the workshop. Even the step, the look, the bearing of our young men are undergoing a transformation that betokens a soldierly openness, activity, and confident self-reliance, in lieu of those slouching steps, and careworn, money-reckoning looks by which our streets and public haunts were crowded. The future merchant-princes of Britain are thus in training to occupy that proud position which should be held in princely character, and into which nothing that is mean or sordid should enter; and, while peer and peasant are serving in the same ranks, and united in one common military fellowship, the invidious separations of rank and wealth, which have so long been a social evil among our people, will be qualified and abated. This volunteer movement, instead of a temporary, promises to be a permanent institution; and, by the moral and social changes which it has already originated, it may even yet, without being needed for actual conflict, become the best safeguard of our country, by the new life it has infused, and by the fresh impress which it will stamp upon the community.

Having thus brought onward the course of our narrative to the events which are passing before our eyes, and movements which await their development, our task is ended. And yet, how pregnant is the present with matter for history which future ages will peruse with wonder! Time and space have been controlled, so that years have become sufficient for the changes of centuries; and amidst the fancied stability of to-day, we know not what to-morrow may bring forth. Europe is still heaving with stormy elements, that are full of a portentous futurity; and even before the present generation has

passed away, what thrones may be over-turned, what nations committed to a prosperous rise or mournful extinction? "This is not the world into which I was born," is emphatically the exclamation of our old men; but how much more justly it will be repeated by their successors! And what, amidst these mutations, will be the destiny of our own Britain? Has she already reached that culminating point beyond which all is a progress of decay? Or does she possess that innate vigour and vitality which will secure for her an old age extended beyond the usual term of the life of nations? These are considerations that force themselves upon us, as we close the volume, and look wistfully into the future. They are questions which all will be ready to propound—but who can answer them? Let us hope, however, as we may, we cannot expect any nation to be immortal; and that each must pass away in turn, and give place to younger communities, seems necessary for the progress of humanity at large. Even with this mournful conviction upon us, we are consoled with the thought that Britain has not lived in vain. Selected by the great Ruler of Nations to be the standard-bearer, not only of political freedom, but religious truth, she marched at the head of the world's pilgrimage onward and heavenward through the wilderness; and when darkness gathered, she turned from the erring counsels of men to the pillar of fire, the unfailing light of eternal truth, and carried onward the heaven-bestowed banner in the right path, notwithstanding the murmurings and rebellion of the multitude. And thus her sacred commission, her long career of unexampled greatness and prosperity, and the blessings it has imparted to the world at large, are the best assurances that the evil day will be late in coming; and that when come it must, her decay will be gentle, and her end amidst honour and regret, while those nations that succeed her will be enriched with her discoveries, enlightened by her wisdom, and animated by her example. Even when her cities become mouldering ruins, they will still be the honoured resting-places of the world's pilgrimage; and the events of which they are the memorials will be recorded in every language, as a glory of past ages which time can only beautify and brighten. In this hope let us find our consolation. Such a prospect, next to imperishability itself, is the highest, noblest, and most desirable of national destinies.

THE END.

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FROM 1800 TO 1850

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PREFACE.

THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND being, as its title-page intimates, the production of more than one author, a brief notice of its origin is due to the reader and the public. As the basis of this History, the Publishers adopted "The Cabinet History of England," in twenty-six small volumes, consisting of the Civil and Military portion of "The Pictorial History of England," condensed and abbreviated by its author, Charles Macfarlane, and of a brief abstract of the Religious History of England, condensed from the same work, the narrative of events being brought down only to the year 1846. On this original portion the following changes have been made. Incidents omitted, but judged necessary for a clearer understanding of the narrative, have been restored. Events of importance too summarily treated, have been amplified into greater fulness and distinctness. In other cases where the detail was too minute, the narrative has been shortened, but still with due regard to completeness and perspicuity, and the relative proportion of each part to the whole. A careful editorial survey has been exercised over every page and every sentence of the original work, and whatever might be deemed unnecessary or offensive has been cancelled or altered. The narrative, which was divided merely by historical periods or epochs, some of them of great length, has been also subdivided into chapters, with a copious table of contents prefixed to each. And upon those portions of the national history on which a variety of opinions are at issue, or to which superior importance is attached, notes have been appended from the works of the most distinguished historical writers of the present age, such as Bruce, Giles, Turner, Palgrave, Kemble, Lappenberg, Pauli, Hallam, Guizot, Carlyle, Macaulay, Bancroft, &c.

While this editorial labour alone has materially changed the original Work, the amount of new writing has still further tended to transform it into the COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Of these additions we need only to particularize the chief. The early history of Britain before the Roman invasion has been introduced as a fitting preface to the general narrative. Of the chapters containing the History of Religion, some have been partly and others wholly re-written. From the Peninsular campaign and battle of Waterloo to the close of 1845, nearly one-half of the narrative has been supplied by the Editor, while all since that period consists wholly of fresh material. But the most important of all the additions, from which the present Work chiefly claims its title of "Comprehensive," are the chapters constituting the History of Society with which each Book is terminated. Upon this department we offer the following observations.

Until lately the history of a nation consisted of little else than a record of its wars, and the political movements upon which they depended. On this account the individual elements that compose the life of a people, the formation of the national character, and the true sources of a kingdom's rise, prosperity, and decay, were either wholly lost sight of or but briefly mentioned. The stir and glitter of warlike achievements, the exploits of heroes, and the

sayings and doings of sovereigns, were more attractive for the purposes of eloquent detail, than the records of peace, the condition of the people, and the gradual unobtrusive development of their powers and resources. Such a plan of historical writing, however, was only tolerable when the public mind was but partially awakened, and when a country had little else than the tale of its wars to offer. But an age of reflectiveness has succeeded, and this contracted spirit has passed away. The onward course of intellectual and moral progress under which society has ripened into manhood, can no longer be satisfied merely with a narrative of battles, sieges, and picturesque mutations: these are only effects of which the causes have now become the chief subjects of inquiry. A people were brave; but how did they become so? They resisted a foe or an usurper to the death; but what had they worth dying for? From barbarians they became a people civilized, learned, accomplished; but by what other causes than those of war, and through whom, independently of their military heroes, was this progress carried on and this character matured? These and other such questions, the utterances of a new and more intellectual life, are now propounded to the historian, and if he fails to answer them his task is unfulfilled. And of all countries none is so deeply interested in such questions as our own. Her industrial energies are the wonder, and their fruits the envy of every people. Her political constitution is the model to every state that struggles into freedom; while her eminence in science, in literature, in art, has made her the instructress of those countries which she has controlled by her armies, or enriched with her commerce, or strengthened by her alliance. But whence all this? and how did it grow? We go back to the days when the germ of such a glorious futurity was a handful of Saxon barbarians upon the Isle of Thanet; and the steps by which their children have grown into the great nation of the modern world, is the most important of inquiries as well as the most wonderful of narratives.

Under such impressions, the introduction of what is called the philosophy of history was judged especially necessary for our national record. But the mode of introducing it was the prevailing difficulty; and it was felt that to interweave it into the body of the Work would only perplex the reader, and break the continuity of the narrative. The merit of solving this difficulty is due to the Rev. Dr. Robert Henry, the first volume of whose *History of Britain* was published in 1771. He divided his work into periods of time, each period consisting of seven chapters. Of these chapters the first contained what had hitherto constituted the entire of a history—the narrative of civil and military transactions. This, however, was but a part of his task, and the other six chapters were devoted to the following departments:—1. The ecclesiastical history of the period, and the condition of its religious belief; 2. The history of its government, laws, and administration of justice; 3. The state of its learning and general intelligence; 4. That of its arts and manufactures; 5. Of its commerce, shipping, coin, and price of commodities; and, 6. Its manners, customs, amusements, and costume. Under these divisions the history of the people as well as the nation, and their moral, intellectual, and social progress, were fully and minutely comprised. In 1837, the plan of Dr. Henry in its full extent was resumed in “*The Pictorial History of England*,” and with such improvements as an increased experience had suggested. The plan of seven chapters to each book or period was still retained; but, while the whole details of industrial arts, manufactures, commerce, shipping, &c., were comprised in a single chapter, a seventh was devoted to the “*History of the Condition of the People*.” But the most important change introduced into the *Pictorial History of England*, was the division of labour under which the work was conducted, each chapter being assigned to a separate writer supposed to be best acquainted with its particular subject, while the several sections were combined and harmonized into a continuous narrative under the superintendence of an efficient editorship. The result was the fullest, completest, and most useful history of England that had yet appeared.

Even here, however, the great *desideratum* was not absolutely fulfilled. There was still ample room for a COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, in which the excellencies of its illustrious predecessor might serve for example, and its errors for warning; and this, chiefly, in the numerous and important departments in which the course of progress is detailed. Might not the plan devised by Henry, and improved in the Pictorial History, be susceptible of still further improvement? In the last-mentioned work, it was generally felt that the chapters appended to the Civil and Military narrative were too much detached from each other, as well as too minute and diffuse. These faults, however, were more or less inevitable, from the employment of so many different writers, each attending solely to his own department. The only remedy in this case was to return to the original plan of Dr. Henry, but with several important modifications, by which the multifarious history of national progress should be the work of a single mind, directed by the experience of past examples, and furnished from those new sources of knowledge which recent researches have so largely supplied. This accordingly has been attempted; and the result has been, the "History of Society" that closes each book or era. The wide and varied subject of national progress during each period has been condensed into a single chapter. Its diversified materials have been combined and welded into a continuous narrative. The salient points have been brought into full view, so that the individual form and character of each period might be understood, and every successive step of progress distinctly recognized. By this plan of condensation, it is hoped, that while the subject as a whole is so simplified as to make it more generally intelligible and interesting, nothing which a history of society during its several stages might materially require has been omitted.

Having thus explained so fully the origin of this historical Work, and the processes by which it has been carried on to the close, we may now briefly state the character that was sought for it, and the purposes it was designed to serve. The great aim was to produce a family and household book—a national history fitted for the use of every British home. To be such, if not free from party predilections, it must at least be free from party violence and misrepresentation. It must be so complete as to include the whole national narrative, from the earliest period to the present day. It must be so full, as to comprise not only every important circumstance, but also minor accessories; and, at the same time, so compendious as not to dismay ordinary readers by its unmanageable bulk and too minute detail. And, with all this, a living spirit must breathe throughout the whole. Past ages and their facts must be treated, not as hard dry abstractions, but vital realities with which the present generation are connected, and in which they ought to sympathize; while the style of the narrative—clear, concise, and intelligible to general readers—should, at the same time, be consistent with the dignity of history and importance of the theme. And even this is not all. A work so written, and for so high a purpose, must strictly adhere to truth throughout, even though party or national feeling should seek to colour or suppress it; and the inculcation of sound knowledge and virtuous principles be a higher object with the writer than the dramatic interest of his facts, or the poetical graces of which they are susceptible. Such has been the aim, and such have been the requirements kept steadily in view throughout the progress of these volumes; such is the criterion by which they await the public judgment, and upon which their character and fate must depend. To reach such a standard of excellence could scarcely be expected; but the attempt has not the less been made, and even to have neared such a standard will scarcely be accounted a failure.

Independently, however, of research, arrangement, treatment, and style, something more was found necessary for the general acceptance and usefulness of a national history. The resources of language alone are insufficient to embody past events, or delineate the changes

of society with full distinctness; and in reading the history of these, especially if the period is remote, something more is required than mere verbal description, however full and accurate. Not only the aspects and fashions of social life, but the very localities in which great events occurred, have passed away or assumed new forms. In this case, the resources of the pencil complete what the pen cannot fully describe, and the pictorial art becomes the effectual ally of historical writing. And how amply this aid has been used, the following volumes will attest. The scenes of important deeds, the mouldering ruins of buildings which remain as their monuments, the portraitures of distinguished men—the homes, furniture, weapons, costume of every successive period—maps of districts historically remarkable, plans of battle-fields, naval engagements, fortifications, and interesting localities—everything, in short, that could throw light upon each era, and its manifold events, personages, and character, has been introduced to give specific distinctness to the narrative. None are mere fancy sketches, but all of them veritable pictures of past or present realities. The care and research bestowed on the selection of these illustrations, are sufficiently attested by the authorities given along with their titles. It will be seen, also, that the frontispieces and engraved title-pages of these volumes have been designed to symbolize the four great phases of British history, of which the illustrations in the text are the minute details. Thus, in Volume I. the Investiture of the Black Prince with the Order of the Garter typifies the age of Chivalry and the dignity of the feudal nobility, while the engraved title, the Houses of Parliament, indicates the representative system on which the government of our country is founded. The Supremacy of Law, the origin of our individual liberty and source of national comfort and prosperity, with royalty as its guardian and administrator, is symbolized in Volume II. by the well-known story of Prince Henry and the Lord Chief-justice, and the view in the engraved title of the ancient palace of Windsor. In Volume III. the Reformation of Religion, by the translation of the Scriptures into English, and the right accorded to every one to read them—the origin and source of our religious liberty, by which our political freedom has been completed and confirmed—is announced in the presentation of the English Bible to Henry VIII. by Chancellor Cromwell; while the view of Oxford, in the opposite engraving, suggests how learning, which first promoted the Reformation, was itself enfranchised and advanced by the religious movement. And in Volume IV. the Opening of the Great Exhibition of 1851 betokens the progress of civilization and the industrial arts, and the present maturity of elegance and refinement; while the “Pool of the Thames”—the mighty heart of British commerce, whose life-blood circulates throughout the whole earth—tells of the height we have now attained in mercantile power and prosperity. Thus, something more than mere ornament has been attempted: the spirit of the work itself has been transfused into the embellishments.

With these explanations, the “COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND” is now committed to the public award, in the hope that the popular favour with which it has been hitherto received will still continue to follow it.

THOMAS THOMSON.

EDINBURGH, *February*, 1861.

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